

THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

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The changing concept of political development is reviewed historically. The conclusion reached is that the notion of political development is most meaningful when it is assessed at the individual level where it relates to expressed needs and values. An historical review is also made of the perceived role of education in development. This review includes the recent interest in political education and the role of the hidden curriculum. From the position that political development is an individualised concept, the inter-relationship with education is explored. To provide structure to the analysis, a model of political development is derived. The model uses three interdependent parameters; participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. Participation is described in terms of the individual's opportunities to interact with, and influence the socio-political environment. Social mobilisation is described in terms of opportunities in the environment and the use made of these by the individual. Vulnerability is described in terms of the constraints which impede and distort socio-political relationships.

The model is offered as a means whereby analysis of the interface between political development and related social phenomena may be facilitated. To demonstrate this, two concepts, prevalent in the developmental literature and seen as important to education, ethnicity and modernisation, are examined. The model is applied to this examination in both cases. The interface between political development and education is then explored using the model as a structuring device. Interest centres on the degree of consistency between the attitudes, values and behaviours encouraged by the hidden curriculum and those of the socio-political system in general. Lack of consistency along the dimensions of the model is offered as an explanation for the observed failure of educational systems to promote political development.

Finally, the model is used to examine educational experience in Kenya and Tanzania, as an example of its applicability in different social situations. In conclusion, as a result of persistent observation of inconsistency between overt and hidden educational experiences, specific suggestions are made to improve consistency along each of the three dimensions, in relation to educational structures, the curriculum, teacher education and adult education.

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INTRODUCTION

Politicians see in education a valuable resource for helping to resolve some of their critical problems. Problems associated with, for example, the integration of society, the legitimacy of political control, and the demands for economic growth appear to be less acute where formal education is well spread. Yet, both policy-makers and public acknowledge the ineffectiveness and irrelevance of much of the school curriculum. Thus while valuable resources are committed greatly to increase educational provision, much criticism is also made of the utility and relevance of education. In the past, attempts have been made to resolve this paradox by offering justifications for subject matter in terms of its transfer effects. Thus, Latin trains the mind, or Mathematics increases logical consistency. Such attempts have not been substantiated; but explanations of this kind do indicate an intuitive expectation that there exist socially useful skills and knowledge, independent of content, and that these may be learnt at school and generalised to the world outside. Perhaps Latin does not train the mind but learning to identify the patterns and apply the rules of combinations does? Perhaps Mathematics does not increase logical consistency but learning the power of generating and following a set of arguments and applying them does? Underlying these questions was the assumption that there exists a curriculum in school whose content is the set of attitudes, values and behaviours equally applicable to all subject matter. The examples cited, identifying patterns, generating and following a set of arguments, would be members of this set.

Such considerations led to the present study of the ways in which education impinges upon political development. Political development has, itself, been a widely discussed notion, especially since the end of the Second World war and the creation of many independent states that were previously colonies. However, there has been no consensus about the meaning of political development. Insofar as political development has been considered separately from economic development, it has been in relation to political stability, the maintenance of existing regimes, nation state identity, majority government and such structural concepts. Indeed, the classical literature on political development is itself not developed: there are no agreed definitions or criteria for the purposes of assessment. Development has implied a goal, a process in a particular

direction but the only reference points that political science has identified have been ideological. Agreement on definitions has therefore not been possible.

One of the difficulties has been a methodological and, in particular, a systems level problem which has been present in socio/political research. Intuitively, behaviour at all systems levels, the family, the group, the society, the nation, appears to be related. So, by analogy, some have argued that, for example, if man is aggressive, societies must be; as individuals grow and develop so do societies. The use of analogy in this way does not enable the derivation of general theories of behaviour nor does it solve the systems level problem. It has led to a structural view of society in which the impact of the individual has been assessed in psychological terms only. Psychology, itself, has evolved in the structural paradigm and has, for example, focussed on the way in which social structures affect the behaviour of individuals. Nowhere has this been more apparent than in the fields of educational psychology and the sociology of education where research efforts have concentrated on fitting the individual into the classificatory systems designed, where the assumptions have reflected the institutional settings.

"Much research in education ... starts from an absolutist view of cognitive categories ... This view ... prevents these categories from being treated as themselves socially constructed and therefore open to ... enquiry. Many of the assumptions of our academic culture are deeply embedded in the institutional framework of 'what everyone knows is education'." (Young, 1971 : 11)

The same disenchantment with a social structural view appears to be present in the literature of many disciplines. Interest in structures is giving way to interest in processes. Focus on institutions is shifting to focus on humans and their goals. The norms of behaviour defined by institutional expectations are proving of less interest than the individual's access to and effect on processes of change. Such shifts indicate that there is a change of paradigm emerging.

"We are witnessing ... the conceptual dismantling which accompanies the break-up of a paradigm. One of the features of this process ... is that certainties become opaque and are seen as relative socio-cultural productions ... it is clear that we are witnessing some aspects of a profound change in the understanding of consciousness." (Esland, 1971 : 93)

Paradigm shifts are not comfortable - old and familiar notions become subject to re-evaluation, established definitions are challenged. The intellectual climate can become defensive and incredulous. Thus, at the present time, there are those who anxiously wish to defend disciplinary boundaries against the encroachment of those who claim that individual behaviour cannot be broken into separate categories and analysed meaningful in that way. Others hold tenaciously to the view that the characteristics of social structures are conceptual entities in their own right rather than determined by the individuals who operate within those structures. Thus, for example, does 'politics' have meaning only as structurally defined, or is 'politics' more meaningful when viewed as the relationship of individuals to the decision-making process? Is 'equality' a description of a characteristic of a social structure, or does it reflect the propensity of the individual to negotiate his space in relation to others in his environment? Pursuing this orientation has caused the development of a discipline area known as Political Psychology in which

"Knowledge gained by behavioural scientists is focused on critical human needs." (Knutson, 1973 : vii)

Its focus is

"a concern with individual - level determinants of political behaviour." (Ibid : ix)

The approach confronts traditional thought, which has concentrated on structures, institutions, norms, processes of integration and socialisation.

This study sets out to offer a view of political development which is consistent with the observed shift in paradigm i.e. a view which emanates from taking the individual as the unit of analysis. Once this is seen to be the starting point, the nature of the individual's responses, values and attitudes become a focus of interest for the educationist for

"the existence of such developing thinking makes the question of political education an immediate one, ... to ignore, educationally, a developing capacity for rationality in any area of knowledge constitutes an ideological stance per se." (Stevens, 1977 : 302)

The contribution of this study is towards the consolidation of this paradigm shift. The linking of political development and education constitute an addition to the literature of political education.

Up to the present, political development has been conceived as a set of institutions and processes without reference to the requirements of those served by those institutions and processes. There could, therefore, be no scientifically determined goals and no means of determining the role which education, science and research could play other than systemic objectives. In an ideological framework, some states are deemed to be 'developed' and some not. In this sense, developed only means large, complex, sophisticated, or reflecting the institutions of some other 'developed' state. This is a structural or systemic notion. By comparison, a behavioural view of development focuses on the increasing competency displayed by an individual as he re-structures his understanding of the world about him. Child development and organismic development generally, is recognised, can be measured, predicted, retarded and promoted. Recent literature referred to later has applied this notion of development to the systemic growth of communities, the connection being that there are certain needs of the individual that must be satisfied if the individual is to be a functional unit in the community. The isolation of these needs and their precise definition has thus led to a clarification of that type of political development most likely to satisfy these needs. Political development is thus assessed by reference to the degree to which the needs of the members of a community are met by the social provision. Institutions are developed out of human needs rather than individuals being expected to fit institutional requirements. In some cases, and at some stages of growth, certain institutions will be appropriate. In others, quite different institutions will be required to achieve the behavioural goals. The common feature of all will be the necessity for the development of the individual, as an individual, within the community. On this basis it is possible to classify and to assess contributions that have been made to the notion of development, to policies for development, and to arrive at a definition free of cultural and ideological bias.

This study commences, therefore, with the axiomatic proposition that development, and political development in particular, is a behavioural and not a structural notion. Political development refers to the increasingly complex set of relationships of people to each other and to authorities. On the basis of this hypothesis, a meaningful discussion

about the role of education in the process of political development can be undertaken. If it is assumed, for example, that behavioural needs could best be satisfied by an integrated or homogeneous society, then educational experiences would be expected to be consistent with this goal. If, on the other hand, it were found that human needs, and therefore harmonious social relationships, require identity and recognition for their fulfillment, education experiences would be expected to be different in character. The emphasis would not be on cultural integration, but on the maintenance of separate cultural patterns of behaviour, concentrating on integration at a functional or work level. Societies appear, in fact, to be of this kind: they are frequently multi-ethnic and usually comprise a multiplicity of cultures and belief systems. Attempts to enforce integration have not proved fruitful.

This study seeks to determine the structures and the behavioural and political assumptions on which an educational system must be based if it is to contribute to political development in a positive way. It is a pre-theorising, a ground clearing operation of a deductive kind, in an area of thought that is itself under-developed, the kind of work that must be done before there can be any useful case studies or policy applications. One of the difficulties in the past with assessing the contribution of education to aspects of socio-political development has been that educationists have concentrated on measureable and observable data which can be collected in the classroom or through questionnaire type techniques. This has not only narrowed the focus to such an extent as to inhibit useful conclusions, but it has drawn attention away from the implications of current, ongoing, classroom experience. Education is having an impact but its impact, whether it promotes political development, or impedes it, can only be assessed if a tool exists by which the impact can be defined and analysed. If, for example, education is to be regarded as an instrument for social control, the criteria for stating this must be clear and open to investigation by the application of an instrument which permits comparison.

Three substantive hypotheses further define the starting point for this study. First, education is a vehicle for transmitting aspects of political development. To explore the implications of this statement, a critical review of the literature relating to political development is

made. This review is presented historically in Chapter 1, in order to demonstrate the way in which the notion of political development has undergone change over time to the present stage where the concept is seen as being a behavioural one, and consequently, a concept which is affected by learning. A similar historical treatment is made in Chapter 2, of the role of education in political development arriving at the point where there is an apparent consensus that education should affect political development but an equivalent consensus that, in fact, its effects are either negative or, at best, neutral. Having argued for the adoption of a deductive approach, and, in particular, the adoption of the proposition that political development is of special concern to educationists, in Chapter 3 a model is derived by which the analysis of political development, related concepts, and in particular the interface with education can be structured. This meets the oft reiterated demand in the literature for just such a structuring device to aid analysis and practice.

The model describes political development using three parameters, participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. Participation is explained in terms of the opportunities available to the individual to interact with, and influence the socio-political structures. Social mobilisation is described in terms of the opportunities available and their use by the individual. Vulnerability is a description of the constraints which impede and distort socio-political relationships. The model is presented as one way of organising the needs and values itemised in the literature so that analytical judgments can be made. Massialas has written:

"Most research ... has been conducted on a piecemeal basis, hence there are no overall constructs which would give the research any direction and get the parameters with which such research can be pursued. As a result, there is very little that one study contributes to the other ... there is much to be said about the need for theory. For the most part, studies ... have not based their research on explicit theory." (1975a : 176)

The model derived in this study is presented as such a unifying instrument, and furthermore, an instrument for both theoretical research and policy research since it can be used as a tool for guiding observation, or for deriving policy implications.

Political events suggest the second substantive hypothesis which guided the study, that is that the political development needs of individuals are not being met. Two areas of investigation chosen from the literature are of current concern and, at the same time, centrally related to political development and education. These areas ethnicity, explored in Chapter 4, and modernisation, in Chapter 5, present aspects of the problem of political development. The model is, therefore, a useful tool for demonstrating the degree to which ethnicity and modernisation impinge upon education and development. In Chapter 6, the interface between political development and education is explored. The concept of the hidden curriculum is invoked to describe the transmission system through which learners develop and experience the attitudes, values and behaviours of political development. The content and methods of the hidden curriculum are identified and attention drawn, for example, to the attitudes towards information use and problem solving, the values given to self-respect, co-operation, responsibility, innovation and tradition, the behaviour modelled by teachers, encouraged by structures and rewarded by the system. The inconsistency between the hidden curriculum and the manifest curriculum, and between the hidden curriculum and frequently expressed social expectation is highlighted and offered as an explanation for so much of the criticism which is levelled at the education system for being dysfunctional. Once again, the model is used to structure the argument and provide coherence.

The third substantive hypothesis states that the impact of education on political development is frequently counter to that advocated and/or desired by decision-makers. The experiences of Kenya, in Chapter 7, and Tanzania, in Chapter 8, are examined for a comparison of objectives in terms of political development, educational objectives and the degree of consistency between these. The workings of the hidden curriculum are analysed in both cases, and again, the applicability of the model is demonstrated.

In Kenya, the visible reward structure and the education system convey similar messages which are reinforced by policy although contradicted by the 'ought' statements of politicians. The inconsistencies are embedded in the ideals and policies and the gap between them, and in the mal-distribution which is a consequence of

this. In terms of stated political development objectives Kenya rates low, with little participation, limited social mobilisation and high vulnerability. However, actual policies are not consistent with philosophical statements, and there is high consistency between educational policy and some socio/economic objectives. This has enabled Kenya to develop its image as a land of opportunity, although in terms of the political development model it can be seen that this is restrictive on the socio/political potential of the majority of Kenyans.

Tanzania is a society which, in its rhetoric, has identified and specified its political development aims in very clear terms. High value is placed in public statements on participation, and social mobilisation, and the reduction of vulnerability. The inconsistencies which occur between policy and educational practice are, consequently, all the more noticeable. Tanzania is certainly a case of a state which is planning positively for the impact of education on political development but where the hidden curriculum still comprises content or methods relating to other sets of objectives than those specified in the public philosophy. These might well stem from the norms or practices of pre-independence days, especially where teachers' skills and experience were gathered under different conditions. They might reflect local conditions in the opportunity structure or economic resources and the constraints or possibilities available. The interpretation of political development in terms of Tanzanian education practice has been largely specified in Education for Self-Reliance projects and political education studies. The import of this analysis of the hidden curriculum is to highlight how much is learned covertly from the normal practices of the school. The learner must then synthesise and adjust the various messages which he receives in order to maintain his intellectual, social and emotional health. Thus overt content in the political education class which clashes with hidden messages in the conduct of school affairs must somehow be classified, assessed and evaluated by each individual.

In conclusion, Chapter 9 examines the hidden curriculum in the context of learning for political development. Four aspects of education are analysed, educational structures, the curriculum, teacher education and adult education. Each is assessed in terms of the

possibilities it offers to develop skills and knowledge related to the parameters of the model, participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability.

The study has generated the following two statements:

1. Political development = $f(\text{Participation} + \text{Social Mobilisation} + \text{Vulnerability})$.
2. Educational impact = $f(\text{Formal curriculum} + \text{Hidden curriculum})$.

The question raised by the study is:

"What is the impact of education on political development?"

The study concludes with an examination of the degree of consistency between educational experiences and political development. For example, where there is inconsistency between the two curricula, formal and hidden, a negative, or at best, zero effect would be expected on political development. A number of questions are raised by these observations. For example, would a reconstruction of the curricula facilitate a positive impact by education on low political development? Is zero impact possible where political development is high? How would, for example, Northern Irish society measure in terms of educational impact on political development and could recommendations be made to alter the one in order to obtain a proportional increase in the other? No attempts have been made to answer these questions in the present study which has concerned itself with laying an adequate theoretical foundation for future empirical work of the kind suggested. The approach is elegantly summarised by Lasswell and Kaplan:

"Since the propositions are taken as regulative hypotheses, not formulations of established laws, we are not concerned with marshalling evidence supposed to establish them. They are intended to serve the functions of directing the search for significant data, not of predicting what the data will be found to disclose ... the propositions are therefore intended not to take the place of proofs but to clarify the content of the hypotheses and to indicate the considerations for supposing them a useful framework for inquiry ... The numerous citations from the main body of political thought are to be construed in the light of these purposes ... and ... serve ... to disclose ... the continuity of ... standpoint with the major currents of political thought ... This standpoint ... finds its subject matter in interpersonal relations not abstract institutions or organizations; and it sees the person as a whole ... As policy, it prizes not the glory of the depersonalized state ... but human dignity and the realization of human capacities." (1950 : xxiii/xxiv)

The paradigm shift that has been observed in many of the social sciences has had a substantial impact on theorising (for example Davies, 1963, Apple, 1979) as well as upon empirical methodology (for example Delamont, 1976, Sharp and Green, 1975). However, to date, there has not been an attempt to describe political development and then relate that description back to the individual's developing competencies through his experience of education. That is the purpose of this study. It aims to link the individual to his political development by an examination of his learning experiences and thereby to arrive at some understanding of how education does have an impact on political development and, consequently, what policy implications might flow from this.

Section 1: Defining the problem

Two ambiguities are explored in this section. The first relates to the concept of political development. The changing concept is related historically to the changing state of knowledge as, decade by decade, events focussed attention on different aspects of the phenomenon and as attempts at clarification reflected gaps in understanding or in the relationship between theory and action. The second ambiguity relates to the question of the role of education in development. This is also reviewed from an historical perspective. The resolution of the two ambiguities is offered in the third chapter of the section, where a model of political development is derived as a tool to help explain and predict the interaction between political development and education.

CHAPTER 1

THE DEVELOPING NOTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The term 'development' is an ambiguous one. Its meaning has evolved over time, perhaps relatively precise at a given point of time and as used by a particular person, but so ambiguous from any consensual point of view as to render it almost unusable. Yet it is a concept of a condition posing social and political problems of a major kind; its clarification holds out the promise of the identification of issues and the prescription of possible solutions to the economic and social problems it signifies.

Knowledge is stimulated by observation: it is not necessarily situated within a closed system of thought. In the social and political sciences, in particular, it results from experience, events, problems being faced. Because of this, the definitions, content and applications of concepts change constantly: in this inter-active process, attempts to clarify are responses to observations of the referent world and attempts to explain are responses to clarification achieved. It is an evolutionary process: a concept that originates in one discipline, for example, economics, in due course and through pressure of events is redefined and given an altered content such that it touches on another interest area, say politics. Furthermore, sets of assumptions that may have been consensual assumptions over generations undergo change in the light of events; in Kuhn's terms (1962), there is a paradigm shift, different explanations, different theories become current, each of which requires its own conceptual language. In this interactive process in which sets of assumptions change in the light of empirical evidence and in which perceptions of empirical evidence alter with altered conceptual tools, terms become at one and the same time richer and more ambiguous: richer because they have expanded content and wider applications; more ambiguous because they are used in so many different ways in different contexts by different people.

The implied criticism made here of much social and political science is applicable particularly to the notion of development. Development has, as will shortly be seen, been defined in many ways. Force of

emerging circumstances has required re-definition and further re-definition. Development was not treated in the recently published International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (Sills, 1968) except in a reference to developmental psychology. Its predecessor was social and organisational evolution. The nineteenth century idea of progress carried with it the notion of the inevitability of change. So powerful was this expectation that both *laissez-faire* economists and Marxists, from their different points of view, predicted change. This change appears to have been equated with progress and, by implication, with development simply as the result of the interaction of social, economic and political forces.

Development as a deliberate goal is different from the concept of an evolutionary or systemic process. It relates to deliberate planning to promote an acceleration of the processes that more affluent societies have experienced. The purpose of development then becomes to jump from the social and political life-style associated with an agricultural society to that of an industrial one. The objectives include freedom from the burdens of relative agricultural poverty, especially in poorly endowed and over-populated regions, and the enjoyment of political participation with a view to the satisfaction of those human needs associated with improving living standards, economic and social security, and the full development of individual potential.

It would be ideal if some strictly analytical statement about development could be logically deduced. However, such strictly deductive logic has limited application in social science. Terms employed cannot be so precise and the implied assumptions on which propositions rest are many and varied, mostly not subject to testing because of the inherent ambiguity of the terms themselves. Epstein asserts that

"as yet our understanding of social processes is too limited to allow for socio-economic theories to be developed on a macro level." (1973 : 2)

The only remaining option is to employ synthetic terms, that is those that import additional meaning into deduced propositions and are derived from empirical observation. The precision in definition that logical reasoning requires is then lacking. But the use of ambiguous terms can only be avoided at the expense of escaping from reality. 'Development' could be defined operationally by reference to a given number of post offices, or schools, or police forces or to a particular type of party

system of government. This would, however, be analysing some assumed attribute, not dealing with development as a notion. The methodological dilemma would be avoided by self-defeating means. (See Brecht, 1959: 55-68).

It has been argued that teaching and research into social science is largely an exercise in concept building. Whatever logical deductions are subsequently made, whatever testing follows the statement of a theory, the foundations are laid when terms are defined. So much empirical research is inadequate just because conceptual notions that guide observations have not been thought through even to that point of precision that existing knowledge allows.

Terms such as 'affluence', 'freedom', 'participation', 'security', 'needs', 'individual development' demonstrate the problem. 'Under-development' and 'development' are acknowledged as terms referring to an area of legitimate investigation. What this area is, however, is ambiguous and a matter for debate. Until it is precisely defined, until there is a consensus on the concepts contained in the term, there can be no agreed policies or solutions. The starting point is not observations taken in the field, nor statements by politicians or by scholars, nor solutions suggested by scholars on the basis of their observations. The starting point is definitional. There is a need to pull back from 'scientific method' meaning empirical studies according to some recognized rules of observation and verification, in order to formulate some propositions that are precise and testable.

Development meaning reconstruction and client relationships

Undoubtedly traces of deliberate and conscious policy decisions to promote development - whatever it was taken to mean - can be found in the history of early civilizations; but as an overt, deliberate and widespread endeavour, development became of central concern because of circumstances that faced the industrial states of the West after their military victory in the Second World War. In the immediate post-war period, economic and physical devastation, which had been sustained by the victors as well as by the defeated and occupied states, required emergency aid. There were humanitarian reasons; but the political judgement was that political instability would threaten spheres of Western influence if re-building did not take place without delay. Aid for post-war reconstruction on an extensive scale was made available by the victor powers, especially to Germany and Japan.

At the same time demands for independence, such as had been made by India, were in the post-war period irresistible. Britain had lost its powerful position, while war-time conditions had accelerated the growth of independence movements. The French, Dutch and the British in South East Asia were disappointed in finding that business would not be as usual in their colonial territories. Japanese occupation had rested on indigenous administration in the hands of existing independence movements and these were determined to carry on after the defeat of Japan. This was at a time when the war-time communications explosion was having its consequences: independence demands in one area were quickly communicated everywhere.

"British policy in colonial matters had to be fundamentally altered because of personal shortages, idealism and other factors connected with the war: unrest in Britain's West Indian dependencies, the weakening or loss of her hold upon colonies in the Far East, the nationalist struggle for freedom in India, the principles of the Atlantic Charter, a call for a new deal in colonialism from some American sources, the projection of the race question into world prominence, the creation of the United Nations and agitation in Britain by the Labour Party and its close associate, the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society." (Smythe & Smythe, 1960 : 34/35).

The independence movements frequently represented 'socialism' in one form or another and at the time this was seen in the West as a potential threat or an invitation to an interest by communist states, thus threatening the 1944 Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt agreements on spheres of influence. (See Fleming, 1961 : 1090).

Nevertheless, freedom and independence became the insistent demands and related to these, the expectations of the material benefits that free, independent nations appear to enjoy.

"It was soon made clear to the statesmen at San Francisco that the struggle for political independence was paralleled by an increasingly insistent demand for a more suitable distribution of the good things of life." (Keenlyside, 1966 : 115).

The result, at the United Nations was

"the inclusion in the Charter of the Articles designed to provide help to all nations in their struggle for political, economic and social progress ... (the provision of) the constitutional basis for the subsequent United Nations programmes of international, technical and financial aid." (Ibid : 116).

The political and strategic problem of the West was then defined in terms not of socialism, or other political structures, but of the

under-development of the countries within their spheres of interest: aid programmes, frequently "aid with strings", that is with political, and/or economic, conditions attached, persisted throughout the 'fifties. There was an implicit expectation that the raising of the level of material welfare would result in increased political stability.

"The distinguishing feature of a developed society is that it has evolved a social and administrative organisation, a system of education, a relationship between classes and sexes, a set of habits and customs, a way of life and a scale of values which are compatible with modern industrial technology and the mass production and distribution of commodities which it implies." (Blelloch, 1958 : 36).

Development, so conceived, was an institutional notion: it was the development of the economies and the institutions of the state that was sought. Developmental change was seen as a function of economic growth for which the institutional framework provided support. Under-developed states were urged to acquire a particular set of components such as a communications and an administration system. The reward would come in increasing affluence. The assumption that permeated the typical writing of the time, such as are quoted above, was that Western European society, in particular that of Britain and the United States, offered an adequate model for the development of all other societies in search of a plan.

"Writing about India in the New Statesman, Paul Johnson argued,

'Perhaps the biggest artificial burden the economy has to bear are the cottage industries, heavily subsidized and protected on the grounds that India's traditional culture must be preserved and some means found to reduce rural unemployment.' If the latter reason is the real one, it would be preferable to keep the cottage workers alive by paying a direct dole; this would cost no more, and at least would not damage the economy.'

The possibilities of development are not confined to this alternative of unemployment or industrialization; but even if they were, the creation of unemployment in this manner would be a crude application of Western classical theory without consideration of likely political unrest." (Burton, 1966 : 75).

The concepts which were identified as crucial to development included political integration and industrialisation. The problems which these countries faced were identified in terms of economic stagnation, administrative incompetence, fragmentation within social groupings, lack of literacy, resistance to change and population increase. The solutions to problems such as these were proposed in terms of international aid projects which would help to fund the provision of the structures necessary to overcome the problem. Literacy programmes, contraception

programmes, projects to provide technical aid in the form of 'experts', were funded either through international aid programmes, such as those provided by the UN agencies, the Colombo Plan, or through bilateral arrangements between donor and recipient country.

By the 1960s, the inadequacy of such development intentions was freely acknowledged.

"I find myself increasingly doubtful whether domestic savings and foreign aid together will be sufficient to allow real progress." (Black, 1961).

What was empirically observed was that the prescription for development in terms of reconstruction and the provision of an economic infrastructure had been inadequate to meet the needs. One outcome of implementing the prescribed development through aid programmes during the 1960s was political dependency. Donor/client strings were used to manipulate political and economic relationships and developmental problems of a social, political and economic nature continued within the client states.

Development meaning modernisation

The failure of these early efforts at reconstruction and development led to a new wave of analyses which looked more critically at the constraints in the under-developed world. The rich nations were exhorted to give more and, more appropriately, to stop attempting to use their aid policies in order to buy allegiances. Referring to the 1964 U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, Keenlyside wrote,

"Many of the representatives of the richer countries went to Geneva expecting to take part in a debate in which the standard East versus West competition for the adherence of the under-developed and uncommitted nations would be continued. Instead, both the Western powers and the countries of the communist bloc found themselves under vigorous assault from the representatives of the poor countries. In effect the whole emphasis quickly shifted from an east-west to a north-south conflict." (1966 : 315).

Blame for their failure to develop was placed by the West on the socio-political conditions in the poor countries. The continuing population explosion, lack of health control, inadequate agricultural techniques and poor technical skills were highlighted as standing in the way of economic progress. As now seen from the West, the problem of development was associated with the problem of modernisation and the two terms were frequently used interchangeably. Furthermore, the term was used in many different ways: the objectives to be found in

many Five Year Plans reflected one usage of modernisation as a set of policies designed to promote changes in a society in the model of an already 'successfully modernised' society; modernisation was used by some in a historical sense, to describe some particular periods of time in the history of the growth of nations such as the Reformation, or the Industrial Revolution in England when new characteristics developed and dominated the social, cultural, political or economic patterns (Black, 1967); yet another usage analysed modernisation in terms of certain factors exhibited in the process of social change and societies were deemed modern when they displayed these factors. 'Modernisation' was presented as an evolutionary process of social change, with the emphasis on the capacity to learn through experience, to generate and absorb change, to evolve from the traditional to the modern, where traditional and modern were 'explained' by being placed in contra-distinction to each other. Such analyses exhorted traditional societies to develop universal rather than particular attitudes, to be achievement oriented rather than rely upon kinship or other ethnic connections, to ascribe roles and functions and to develop occupational specialisation. (McClelland, 1966, Weiner, 1966, Lerner, 1958, Smelser, 1966, Inkeles and Smith 1974).

By the end of the 1960s, the strong emphases which had been placed on economic planning and consequent technological development had proved to be no more successful in promoting political development. Consequently, theoretical criticisms, were made.

"The social scientist's designation of specific institutional forms as modern may also function as ideology and as aspiration, specifying what it is in a particular culture which is emulative ... the all too common practice of pitting tradition and modernity against each other as paired opposites tends to overlook the mixtures and blends which reality displays." (Finkle and Gable, 1971 : 26).

Psychologists asserted that

"connections between traditional values and modernisation are neither so obviously true nor so simple as they might be thought to be." (Winter & McClelland, 1969 : 27).

Smith summed up the confusing and contradictory arguments:

"If modernisation involves social transformation, rather than economic development, then there is sufficient evidence of massive changes in recent decades to suggest a structural use for the concept of modernisation, which is independent of that of 'development' ... logically, the difficulty has been to keep the definition of the process separate from its explanation.

Substantively, the problem has been one of keeping the concept distinct from its twin of 'development' ... to define modernisation we need an important and novel attribute of an historical period. The attributes which ... accord with our requirements are scientific and technological ... what does seem to be new is the application of these discoveries to the economy, government and administration, education and the like; and this has been made possible largely by mechanisation of the sources of power." (1973 : 91/92).

But theoreticians were not the only ones who were unhappy with the notion of modernisation. The reality of their experience led many leaders of poor states to question the policies which had been based on the notion. Attention was drawn to the unacceptable international conditions in which these states were operating including the continuing of political strings attached by some governments to their aid, the political implications of accepting international corporations to build the required features of modernisation, and the imbalance in the international terms of trade and tariffs which meant that even where there was an increase in production, the foreign earnings actually fell.

"From 1955 to 1962 ... export prices for underdeveloped countries fell continuously ... On the other hand, during the same period, the export prices for developed countries, which account for 70% of the trade relations of underdeveloped countries, increased ... A deterioration of the terms of trade of the countries of the Third World took place." (Bairoch, 1970 : 33).

At a conference to assess the first U.N. Development Decade and its lessons for the future, Abdel-Rahman commented

"the motivation for economic development aid was not, in many cases, separate from shortsighted political motivation." (Legum, 1970 : 37).

Samir Amin asked the question,

"which proportion of aid has facilitated positive economic and social structural transformations, from the viewpoint of long-term development, and which proportion of aid has actually served to maintain or strengthen structures whose effects upon long-term development has been negative." (Ibid : 59).

Paul Bomani of Tanzania defined the approach which was to signal the next stage in an understanding of development: self-reliance and self-help.

"The proper starting point for consideration of future strategies for development is not the aid programs of the wealthy, but the development as seen from the standpoint of the individual developing country." (Ibid : 211).

Development meaning independent choice

Bomani described a situation in which

"the less-developed world has had to adjust to the tastes, needs and conceptions of the developed world ... (where) programs have been adjusted according to the nature of the aid which can be provided from abroad. Designs for projects have been taken over unchanged from models available in the wealthier countries. Aid has been tied to projects acceptable to the views of external financial agencies and to the particular imports available from the aid-giving country." (Ibid : 219).

He called instead for

"the developed countries ... (to) adjust their assistance efforts to the needs of programs which emerge from genuine local efforts based on self-reliance. This would require flexibility, so that the many small projects appropriate to a rural mobilization program could be substituted for the elaborate single project -- with its full-scale feasibility study, inappropriately expensive design, and elaborate imported equipment -- which has been the typical aid project in the past." (Ibid : 220).

This view of development was community based and small scale. It presaged the conceptual shift from a structural view to a behavioural one. It emphasised the need of an individual to be involved and concerned with the changes which take place in his environment. Development was seen as a function of the environment in which it was placed, related to the social culture, the needs and local conditions. Such was the impetus behind the articulation of 'villagism' in India.

"At the village level, and more especially at the district level, there is in India and in the typical underdeveloped country a local interest and initiative very little different from that which is reported from China. This type of decentralization or growth at the village level, rather than the creation of great industrial centres, may be vital to the political development and stability of all underdeveloped economies, in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America." (Burton, 1966 : 85).

At the international level, a commitment against power blocs and alliances was expressed in the association of non-aligned states demonstrating that the notion of a community of interests was equally useful at the international as at the national level. Community responsibility and consequent community development became a focus of action, not only in poorer states such as Tanzania and Kenya, but in the poorer sectors of richer states. In Britain, community development officers were appointed by many inner city councils to encourage the

identification of problems and the organisation of the local people in actions designed to ameliorate those problems. The dichotomy between developed and under-developed was seen no longer to be relevant. Development was now seen as a process which resulted from the interaction of the individual with the local environment and was assessed, not in terms of comparison, nor in normative terms, but in terms of the achievement of the goals set by the local community in embarking upon their project.

Development of the individual

The shift in analysis emphasised the role of the individual, a movement from an institutional to a behavioural notion. As an institutional notion, there had been continuous criticism about its ideological nature, most especially from those in countries where theory was being implemented in development plans and aid programmes. The goals had been determined normatively and not scientifically, that is countries were told what they ought to be doing in terms of a model which was transposed from elsewhere - East or West. Their needs, wants and relationships had not been ascertained in their own context. The movement to development as a behavioural notion allowed a shift to attempts at a more precise definition and investigation of the needs of the individual that must be satisfied if the individual was to be a functional unit in the community.

Pye attempted to move nearer to an understanding of 'the development syndrome' by identifying three 'characteristics' of political development. He justified his choice by stating that these three appeared to be

"the most widely held and most fundamental in the general thinking about problems of development."
(1966 : 45).

His first characteristic was 'equality', requiring mass participation and involvement in political activities. He indicated a dimension from democracy to totalitarianism; where a state displays 'equality' there are universalistic laws applying to all citizens, and recruitment to political office by merit. His second characteristic was 'capacity'. It measured the scope, scale, effectiveness, efficiency, rationality and secularity of governmental performance. The third characteristic, 'differentiation' required specialisation of structures and roles and their integration. Pye suggested

"that in the last analysis the problems of political

development revolve around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures, and the general political process." (Ibid : 48).

It would be possible to analyse the political culture, authoritative structures and general political process of, say, a small, enclosed, tribal community in terms of 'equality', 'capacity' and 'differentiation' defined by Pye. Where such a community had developed a consensus form of political decision-making, with an emphasis on individual responsibility to the community, and role differentiation by merit, then such a community might well serve as an example of very high level political development. This does not seem to be the spirit in which the three characteristics have been presented by Pye. On the contrary, Pye is working within a cultural convention which accepts the pre-eminence and importance of patterns of American political and social organisation: patterns displayed by the centralisation of authority, the conservation of existing structures and the energetic promotion of their value, the competitive ethic and laissez-faire economic policy. Further, although he has chosen to emphasise characteristics such as equality, which clearly relate to individual needs and inter-personal relations, his analysis is still conducted from an institutional and structural position.

Huntington, in discussing the notion of political system, suggested that the dimension of 'democracy' to 'totalitarianism' was less important for political analysis, than concepts of legitimacy and efficacy. He said

"the most important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but their degree of government."

This again demonstrates a movement from the institutional to the behavioural level of analysis but still conducted from a structural orientation. He cited the United States as an example of a

"political community with an overwhelming consensus among the people on the legitimacy of the political system."

He continued,

"in politics as in economics the gap between developed political systems and under-developed political systems, between civic politics and corrupt politics, has broadened." (1968 : 1/2).

Enloe highlighted the problem of this analysis when she said

"the cases discussed suggest that understanding political development requires at least double vision: the political system of the United States as viewed from Washington and from Harlem." (1973 : 11).

The problems had not been avoided: a diversity and circularity of definition and measurement still abounded, culture-boundedness was evident as was a continued assumption of growth being a terminal notion in that there is a take-off point after which everything is developed. Goulet (1973) suggested abandoning the term development altogether and replacing it with 'liberation'. This he suggested changed the emphasis from one of efficiency in establishing and developing organisational structures which encourage the benefits of increased production and consumption to one of

"a populace which assumes control over its own change processes. For liberationists, therefore, success is not measured by the quantity of benefits gained but above all by the way in which change processes take place." (1973 : xv/xvii).

Goulet's use of the term 'liberation' is essentially a political one, and his stress is on social justice and the growth of a politically conscious, responsible and active citizenry. He weighs aspects of economic development in terms of the degree to which they facilitate or impede these political objectives. He points to

"the intolerably high cost to Latin Americans of economic development, social modernisation, political institution-building, and cultural westernisation." (Ibid : xv/xviii).

But even the term 'liberation' suffers from the same criticism of assuming a dichotomy, a leap from unliberated to liberated, a move from subjection to responsibility and the language of description is a highly emotive and imprecise one. Indeed, just as the term 'development' can be culture-bound because of the history of its usage, this is no less true of 'liberation' which is bound to the values of a particular philosophical approach. Since the phenomenon which is being described clearly exists, further, since it is implicitly or explicitly part of the decision-making framework, social patterning and individual aspirations in every state, whatever its level of economic, social and political achievement, it should be possible to analyse and define it in such a way as to allow for flexibility in the values placed upon it, and in its use.

What has been outlined so far is a history of the continuous change in the notion of development.

"The '50s, after the acquisition of full independence by the developing nations, were characterized by the call for economic and social planning. During the '60s the interest in a critical evaluation of the results and motives of the plans became dominant. ...

Today we know that the decisive obstacles are value judgements and different modes of behaviour."
(Hein, 1970 : 176/77).

Successive stages had reflected the economic domination of the post-war and development aid, the phase of intensive planning for industrialisation with its associated exploitation of resources and labour, the inevitable reaction against the political conditions which were imposed by foreign assistance. By the early 1970s, a new evaluation was being made of the relationship between social and individual values and needs. The demand for social justice and a responsible, politically aware society shifted the emphasis from economic development to an analysis of the discrepancies within individual states between current practice and the needs and values which so often served as the stipulated focus of development. Each of the successive changes in the notion of development reviewed above seemed logical and realistic at the time it was derived; but displayed its inadequacies as experience was accumulated. Theories reflected the alternatives which events appeared to dictate.

The most recent concepts to be explored in the literature relate to values and needs which cut across states, relevant equally to rich or poor.* Goulet suggested that

"most societies possess an existence rationality which is highly receptive to change. Existence rationality is simply the strategy any society adopts to achieve life-sustenance, esteem and freedom ... Any existence rationality contains core values, relating to minimum requirements for survival, freedom, and esteem as well as outer boundaries of secondary values." (OECD, 1974 : 150).

Glazer and Moynihan offered an explanation for the commonality of demand, across many countries and circumstances, for group distinctiveness and identity. This demand reflects

"deeply felt human needs that have always been present but only recently focused by certain political and social developments that have given rise to new common social circumstances in many countries in the postwar world."
(1975 : 3).

* (See Fitzgerald, 1977, including an excellent bibliography of recent work of special relevance to contemporary need theory).

Values such as those cited are associated with such concepts as identity, ethnicity, legitimisation, decentralisation, and inter-dependence. Their identification and description in the context of political development is a recent focus of interest. The outcome in the recent literature, therefore, is that political development is not viewed as a notion relating to economic level, institutions, degrees of political control or leadership. It more consistently appears to relate to the abilities of members of political systems to adjust, to be flexible, to innovate, to cope with new environments and altered technology and yet to preserve the cultural and traditional values to which they are committed.

"Development is not what the economic and other experts proclaim it to be, no matter how elegant their language. Development is not something to be decided by experts, simply because there are no experts on the desirable goals of human life. Development is the desirable course to be taken by human beings in a particular situation. As far as possible, therefore, they ought to participate in the fundamental choices to be made, choices that hinge not on technical expertise but on moral judgements." (Berger, 1974 : 76)

The developing notion of development has reached a point where the emphasis is now on individual needs and values and the place of these in the general polity. Development, in the most recent literature, is signified by the increasingly successful attempts of individuals and groups in society to solve their own socio/economic and political problems. The history of the changing notion of development has underlined a shift in focus from an institutional to a behavioural one, from a societal to an individual one.

Development and Political Development

So far the discussion has been about the concept of development. It will be recalled that the origins were economic development but for political purposes. It has not been possible to differentiate economic and political development: there are merely economic and political aspects of the general notion of development. The concept of development is now used to describe individual adjustment to environmental conditions within the indigenous culture and social system: it is not an institutional phenomenon that can be implanted by aid and foreign organisation. There are no short cuts - though there may be opportunities to accelerate change. In writing of development, Castle pointed out that it must be conceived of

"as a situation wherein man himself becomes both the object and the subject of his own improvement, not

merely an instrument in a process imposed from above and from without." (1972 : 9).

However, it is still necessary to isolate the notion of 'political'. Formally politics is the process by which there is an authoritative allocation of values (Easton, 1964 : 146). Such a definition leaves open the means by which the allocation is made and the purposes for which it is made. Political has been analysed as pertaining to decision making processes, decision making institutions, political franchise, process of change and of maintenance of law and order. Role defence, power rivalries and ideologies are also part of politics. This is the short-term problem in relation to development. That is, the expression of the needs of the individual is blocked by self-interest of those in positions of power. In the longer term, the goals of political development are inexorably related to human, rather than institutional, values and needs. Rebellion and revolution are the end product of the expression of these demands in changing circumstances. The notion of political development relates human values and needs to decision making and the processes of societal change.

There have been many attempts to ascertain what these values and needs are. Gurr argued that values are derived from needs. He proposed a three-fold categorization, welfare values, power values and interpersonal values. He postulated that the discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities defined relative deprivation, itself an indicator of social conflict (1970 : 25). Sites argued that strongly held values relate to security, identity and recognition (1973). Lasswell and Kaplan's list included well-being, enlightenment, power and respect (1950). There are many variations on this theme. Greater precision about the content of the notion of development as it has emerged over the years has led to a closer examination of the notion of political development and to recognition of its individual nature.

If development is the choice of the most desirable course for and by a particular group in a particular situation, then political development is the propensity of the members of that group to design and/or influence that choice. Any aspect of individual development, be it physical, affective or cognitive, is a function of growth and consequently is affected by learning. This is just as appropriate to political development as to every other aspect of human growth. A consequent shift in focus is required from an economic, political and social 'view' of development, to a view which encompasses the developing aspect of political development. This is, indeed, a shift of paradigm.

A paradigm shift gives an altered content to the conceptual notions that it affects. Notions such as modernisation or mobilisation have very different meanings when viewed from a structural standpoint than they acquire when the individual is taken as the unit of analysis. This is not a psychological approach. On the contrary it is an approach that challenges the notion of a psychological dimension as being significant - personality influences in politics may not be important as compared with the social and political expression of human needs and values. The argument is that social and political processes can only be understood in the context of such needs as identity, competency and efficacy, to which reference is later made. As a consequence, political development must be defined and analysed in this framework.

Formerly political development has been regarded as the responsibility of students of development, that is pertaining to changes in the socio/economic phenomena of the state. It has been studied by political scientists or social scientists in the context of underdeveloped/developing/developed nations and their corporate properties. The focus which is suggested here is on the developing aspect of political development. Just as child development is a sphere of study for psychologists interested in the growing intellectual competencies of the child and anxious to chart their stages and levels, so political development, it is proposed, should be a sphere of study for learning theorists/educationists interested in charting growing political competencies. The implications of the shift from institutional to behavioural and from societal to individual is that the study of political development becomes a study of a phenomenon which is learned.

"We must learn how to become more effective in demanding, establishing and enforcing a steady governmental commitment to serve human needs."
(Bay, 1977 : 20).

If this is so, political development requires the same conditions as any other form of learning, e.g. security, consistency in response, identity, recognition, relevance.

"All it (political education) requires is a persistent commitment to the service of human needs, belief in the possibility of personal freedom, and a craving to learn as well as teach." (Ibid : 23).

Political development is presented, then, as a function of human values and needs, a growth function which is dependent upon learning. Bloom and his colleagues in classifying educational goals also acknowledged the pre-eminence of human values by including in their affective domain

valuing, organisation and characterisation by a value or value complex. They suggested that this category is

"the peak of the internalisation process ... (it) concerns one's view of the universe, one's philosophy of life ... a value system having as its object the whole of what is known or knowable." (1964 : 185).

From two different directions, that of the educationist and of the political scientist, a confluence of views has been reached. Political development is a learned phenomenon and is dependent upon the identification of values and needs. Such identification becomes the affective objective of the educational process. Political development and education are then inter-dependent, and linked by the learning process. The individual's experiences, and the growth of individual values, behaviours and attitudes are now seen as central to the objectives of political development. The history of conceptual growth and change which has been outlined leads to an expectation that the present view of political development will, itself, undergo change in the future. But, at the current state of knowledge, it seems relevant and appropriate to examine the understandings within education and to look for the degree of consistency which exists between education and the analysis presented here.

Meanwhile, the ambiguous area of development, and more particularly of political development, has been refined and identified. From a slippery notion, development has become a term which can be tested by examining the degree to which the values and needs of members of a society are identified and satisfied. Political development is the sub-set of these values and needs which pertains to the individual's ability to associate with decision-making and processes of change. Since this ability is affected by the learning of the individual, political development becomes a function of the educational process.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Education as development

In the immediate post-colonial period, education was the subject of insistent demands, both by governments and by the people whom they represented. (See Brembeck, C.S., Education Aspirations as a New Social Force, in Brembeck & Hill, 1973). Dominated by the view of development at the time, as outlined above, political leaders regarded education and development as being in a linear relationship, the more of the one invoking the more of the other. The citizens of the newly independent states, likewise, viewed education and opportunity as being inter-dependent and consequently pressed their leaders for increased provision of education facilities. Castle pointed out that

"young people are not to be blamed for clamouring with a passionate insistence for the sort of education which, they believe, will lift them out of poverty."
(1972 : 66).

Political leaders were also confronted with two pressing objectives: to build a nation out of what were frequently disparate and artificially delineated groups of people, and to generate an economic revolution which would help satisfy the expectations associated with independence (see Cowan, 1965). At this stage, development was viewed in terms of economic growth and political development was seen as nation-building. The solution appeared to be simple. What was required was a massive expansion of educational facilities. Education was proposed as the key to development. So universal was this acceptance of the role of education in development that even the poorest of countries embarked upon vast expenditure and commitment to widening programmes of educational provision. In 1965, 18.3% of Kenya's public expenditure was on education. By 1974, this had risen to 20.5%. Over the same period, similar proportions were spent by other newly independent states. (UNESCO, 1978). Large quantities of international aid were sought and given to help these countries provide themselves with educational facilities such as universities and secondary schools, to staff the institutions with personnel recruited from the richer countries and to improve the materials, methods and curricula which were available.

"External finance to aid education may take different forms:

1. Financing of development measures which increase the revenue-raising capacity of the countries needing aid, on the assumption that this will result in an increase of revenue allotted to education - the political demand for more educational facilities being very strong.
2. Adding to development loans or grants additional sums to take care of the educational implications of the increased production and development foreseen, i.e. treating education as an input.
3. Loans, credits, or grants for specific educational projects such as technical colleges, universities, etc.
4. Long-term loans at low rates of interest, credits or grants for the specific purpose of providing for a country's educational infrastructure, education being regarded as a basic service like the system of internal transport." (Phillips, 1964 : 45).

The commitment which these expenditures reflected was expressed by Parnes, in a report written in 1962 for the OECD:

"Fundamental to the entire exercise of assessing educational requirements is the belief that education can and does contribute to the achievement of a country's plans or aspirations for social and economic development." (1962 : 12).

This point of view appears to be consistent with the thesis advanced in the previous chapter. It has been argued that development is affected by learning, and it would appear that this argument was used to justify the expansionist phase of educational provision. However, on examination, a major difference in approach becomes apparent. At that time, education was being advanced as a tool for instigating development, mainly economic development. The existence of educational facilities their widespread provision, was seen as the answer to developmental problems. Development, it was asserted, depended upon education. The content, the methods and values within the education system, were not being questioned.

Unfortunately, it was not very long before the nature of the assumed dependency between education and development seemed to be falsified.

"After independence demands were often raised that the entire system of education should be 'revolutionised' but this is exactly what did not happen. The educational establishment is part of the larger institutional system which includes social and economic stratification, the distribution of property and power

relations. It embodies strong vested interests of the administrators, the teachers, the students and, above all, of the families in the powerful elite who do not want to undermine the privileged position provided by the inherited school system. The goal then was limited to making schools available to all children. Hence the main effort has been directed at the enlargement of the intake of children into the primary schools." (Myrdal, 1979 : 32/33).

And yet, Nyerere admitted

"When the British left there were places in our schools for about 50 per cent of the children. When they returned (ten years later) to see, we were still there." (1979 : 20).

None of the countries attempting such large-scale expansion of facilities could afford to provide the kind of educational infrastructure which appeared to be required. The provision of buildings and even teachers did not equate with the provision of education, that is, quantity did not necessarily imply quality. Furthermore, although there were insistent demands for the provision of educational facilities, there were also very high drop-out rates as children in rural communities had economic value to their families which could not be foregone and the social and economic costs of schooling became too high. (For details, see e.g. UNESCO 1966 : 88).

Finally, the emphasis on expanding the provision of education permitted the structure, organisation and content of the system to continue largely unchallenged. The assumption had been that what had apparently worked in terms of educational provision for the states whose development was to be emulated, must work for those states desiring to follow suit, so long as the provision could be extended to cover as many children as possible. Sethi, writing of India, referred to

"the monster that has emerged from the British system of education that we have opted. It is on the lips of almost every one that our educational system serves only the interests of a small minority, is unrelated to our environment, poorly serves the objective of development, generates superficial elitism and, above all, is the most concentrated form of alienation. Looking back over the experience of the last thirty years, one finds that our system, instead of creating a really educated man, has only created a class of parasites. The nation is paying a heavy price for having allowed this terrible distortion." (1979 : 193).

Are education and development inter-dependent, as so many seemed to agree? If, as has already been argued, development is a function of learning, then does the nature of that learning provide an explanation for the failure of education to promote development? The changing notion of the role of education in development will now be traced historically, in order to provide a basis for understanding current responses to these questions.

Education as Investment

The impact of political theories of modernisation on the study of development and the consequent involvement of economists in these issues led to the growth of the specialism in the economics of education. Planning to account for the perceived relationship between education and development was a major activity of the 1960s and UNESCO acted as a clearing house for aid, as well as encouraging this emphasis. A series of international conferences was held, and out of each came a plan for the educational development of that region. 1960 saw the Karachi Plan for fifteen Asian countries to double their expansion rate of primary education as at 1959/60 and provide a system of comprehensive and free primary education of a minimum of seven years before 1980. It recommended that external aid was indispensable to the implementation of national plans because the countries concerned did not have the taxable capacity which was dependent upon national production, itself a function of economic development, which was seen to be dependent upon education. The Karachi Plan was extended in Tokyo in 1962 to include secondary, higher and adult education and progress was assessed in Bangkok, 1965. The requirement for external aid was reiterated to cover the foreign exchange component in educational expansion, to fulfil material requirements in short supply, and to provide technical expertise, in particular the educational planners who were now in such demand. While continuing to set a target of universal primary education within two decades, the Addis Ababa Plan of 1961 identified three other priorities, the expansion of secondary education, curricula reform and teacher training. It made recommendations for increasing enrollment, integrating education into general development plans and improving quality.

"The highest priority in education should be accorded to ensuring that an adequate proportion of the population would receive secondary and post-secondary education and

training in the kinds of skills required for economic development, the Addis Ababa Conference resolved." (Furley & Watson, 1978 : 358).

In 1962, the Santiago Plan made similar recommendations for the Latin American countries and again the need for external aid was reiterated. Also in 1962, UNESCO held a Conference at Tanarive on the Development of Higher Education in Africa. In a report on Higher Education and Development in South East Asia, the ideals of these planning years were expressed as follows:

"This great upsurge of education has not only begun to transform the productive potential of the populations of the region - it is creating a favourable climate for the realization of the social and political implications of independence and the consequential growth of national identities linked with modern concepts of progress and welfare".

This statement exemplifies both the practical aim of decision makers in the newly independent countries for economic growth and national integration, and the state of knowledge at that time linking development to industrialisation, modernisation and social welfare. Educational aid was seen as being indispensable as a condition for the effectiveness of other aid, for example because of the need for qualified manpower.

"Pakistan has already spent large sums of money on development projects and we are planning to make even greater expenditure in the future. The budgets for these projects provide for the cost of raw materials, labour and equipment, and also for foreign consultants and technicians. Yet no provision is made for the education and the training of those who will be required to maintain and operate the project once it has been completed or to staff a similar project elsewhere. The lack of trained manpower to create and support an industrialized economy has been a constant source of discouragement in our developmental effort." (Commission on National Education in Pakistan, 1960 : 334).

Writing in 1964, Harbison asserted

"the task of appraising the existing educational system is reasonably clearcut." (1964 : 115).

In their book Human Resource Development, Harbison and Myers identified three processes leading to modernisation. Economic processes involved the accumulation of human capital and its effective investment. Political processes required preparing people for adult participation in political processes. Social and cultural processes helped people to lead fuller, less traditional lives. The way forward, which they

advocated, was through integrated planning and coordination of effort. Harbison's strategy was to identify critical shortages and analyse the reasons for them, to do the same for surpluses and then to set targets for human resource development based upon growth expectations. The techniques appeared to be highly scientific; but the underlying assumptions were questionable and the data gathering and consequent analysis unreliable. The assumption that human resource development could be assessed and implemented in this mechanistic way seemed to be a contradiction. However, throughout this period, the education-as-investment school of thought was the basis for most developmental planning. Manpower surveys, such as those carried out by Harbison, were the basis for reports like the Ashby Report on Nigeria in 1960, the OECD policy conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education in 1961, the Mediterranean Regional Project and the establishment of the International Institute of Educational Planning in Paris, in 1961. The intention was to plan so that the manpower needs were supplied by the education system. The intended result was to be accelerated development.

By the end of the Development Decade it had become apparent that the notion of growth and change in the direction of a Western European model was inadequate to describe the developmental needs of newly independent states and that the manpower planning approach had failed to impinge upon these needs. Writing in 1968, Myrdal said,

"The investment approach entirely ignores the fact that institutional and attitudinal reforms, which depend on political decisions rather than budgetary considerations, are needed to make investments in education 'pay off'." (1968 : 1550).

Adams wrote

"In practice educational planning tends to be limited to the more traditional approach of extrapolating future education need from past education performance." (1970 : 187).

Epstein asserted

"constructing development models in purely economic terms for economies which are not yet industrialised makes them devoid of all reality." (1973 : 2).

Economists had been having a major impact on the policy planning aspect of educational decision making throughout this period. Political scientists, also, were attempting to integrate current notions, such as

modernisation and differentiation, with educational theory and practice. However, the application of these ideas was no more successful in facilitating the relationship between education and political development than it had been in explicating the process of development itself. Post hoc analyses of education using modernisation as a structuring concept, such as *Education and Modernisation in Asia*, (Adams, 1970) only managed to draw attention to the normative nature of the objectives or guidelines which were the basis for long-range educational planning. These objectives continued to be couched in terms of needs such as the need for diversification of education, the need for the expansion of science education, the need for equality of education. (See, e.g. UNESCO, 1966).

Some of these questions continue to be posed today. Eshiwani wrote:

"Perhaps one of the most discussed issues in education in recent years in the continent of Africa is the question of the relevance of education for development. Many speakers in different forums at local and international levels have called for public education which is relevant to the African needs of today and tomorrow in content, approach and values. It is often suggested that new curriculum proposals must be seen not only as relevant but also as sensitive to national socio-economic demands. Curriculum should serve the needs of the majority and not the interests of a small segment of the society. The curriculum programmes of the 1960s have come under attack because they seem to have served the needs of a small percentage of the school population. This anomaly has been due largely to the fact that the curriculum changes that took place in many countries of Africa were hastily introduced and were carbon copies of various curriculum packages in the West. There seems to have been little imagination and thinking about instructional goals in relation to local culture and needs. Indeed, one could almost say that the prevailing attitude was what was good for Europe or America was also good for Africa." (1979 : 346).

Much of the advice which had been pressed upon states to pursue the goal of modernisation had emanated from nationals whose educational experience in modernised states appeared to lend weight to the quantitative argument, i.e. expanded provision for increased numbers.

"Because modernisation theories have viewed the total transformation, that is westernisation, of developing countries to be an inescapable outcome of successful diffusion of the Western economic/technological complex,

by methodological reversal it is argued that a reorganisation of existing social and cultural as well as political patterns in anticipation of their compatibility with the diffused Western economic/technological complex may in fact facilitate the very process of this diffusion itself. This monumental theoretical error has in fact been made and continues to be made by modernisation policy-makers such as those employed by Western governments, U.N. organisations, The World Bank, and so forth." (Hoogvelt, 1976 : 60/61).

The growth of the modern sector had been linked with access to education. One result had been the quantitative expansion already noted. Another was the pressure towards certification and consequent expectations of employment. The reality became a growing urban unemployment problem as certificated youths were drawn to the urban centres in search of the jobs for which they thought their certificates had prepared them. Another spate of international missions and conferences marked the attempts of 'experts' and planners to come to grips with the new conditions (see, for example, the World Crisis in Education Conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1967).

Education as Political Socialisation

What was lacking was a definitive, analytic approach which could shift the perceived, intuitive relationship between education and development from the exhortative level to a level where scientific investigation could be applied. The outcomes could then not only reflect past experience, but also affect future policy making.

The shift which took place was from a focus on the institutions of government to a focus on the individual and his knowledge and attitudes towards government. This reflected the shift, already observed in Chapter 1, from an institutional to a behavioural view of development. Starting from the viewpoint of political scientists, a number of investigators had begun to amass considerable circumstantial evidence from empirical studies to suggest that education is statistically important as a variable in explaining political socialisation. In a large cross-national study, Almond and Verba (1966) found that an increase in length of schooling correlated with increasing awareness of the impact of government, interest in politics, political information, discussion of political issues, opinions on political matters, feelings of efficacy, membership in voluntary organisations and expressions of

confidence and trust in the social environment. Easton and Dennis (1969) investigated the development in children of notions of political legitimacy and related it to their level of schooling. They defined political socialisation as

"those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour." (1969 : 7).

Greenstein offered a definition of political socialisation as

"the deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility." (1960 : 551).

In an Introduction to a Reader entitled Learning about Politics, Roberta Sigel asked

"Why this sudden interest among political scientists in the topic of political socialisation?" (1970 : xi).

Her answer was in terms of the needs of new states to create national loyalty and consensus, and she identified the twentieth century as the century of democracy (resting on consent of the governed) and of technological, social and ideological change (causing insecurities and dissatisfactions which destabilise societies).

"Political socialisation refers to the process by which people learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes and behaviours accepted and practiced by the ongoing system... The goal of political socialisation then is to train or develop individuals to become well-functioning members of the political society." (Ibid : xii).

Dawson and Prewitt summarised the relationship between levels of education and political socialisation by offering four explanatory hypotheses:

- "1. Better educated persons are involved in society's communication networks.
2. Citizens of higher education status are accustomed to collective decision making. The educated are active participants in the organizational life of society.
3. The educated citizen also acquires attitudes which are transferred to the political sphere.. the educated feel more politically efficacious than the uneducated.
4. Educated persons, because of their higher social and economic status, usually feel a greater stake in society... they presume that political events directly affect their personal well-being."

They concluded

"Particular political socialization experiences, therefore, are distributed in society according to social status." (1969 : 177/8).

The implication here is that status is a function of level of educational attainment. Level of attainment then becomes the independent variable on which political socialization depends but the nature of the dependency is unclear. However, the aspects which Dawson and Prewitt identified as important to political socialisation were participation, communication, efficacy and relatedness. They observed that these were an outcome of educational achievement. How does the school transmit to those pupils who stay the course an increased ability to participate, communicate and relate and an increased feeling of efficacy? If these factors are crucial components of political socialisation which should be developed in the school, in what ways can their development be assured for all pupils and not just for those of the highest attainment? These questions will be examined in Chapter 6.

Widespread interest was taken in charting the course of children's growing awareness of politics (Stradling, 1977), of political leadership (Greenstein, 1960, Greenstein and Tarrow, 1970) of the functioning of the political system (Hess and Torney, 1968) and of their party political affiliation (Hyman, 1959). Formal schooling is one of many agencies impinging upon the political socialisation of the child. (Anderson, Remy and Snyder, 1978 : 66). Attention also turned to such other agencies as the family, peer groups, social groupings and the mass media. However, Dawson and Prewitt pointed to two ways in which schooling affected the development of the political self.

"First, schools entail political socialisation experiences which shape the orientations of the preadult. The educational program provides instruction in appropriate political values"

and

"A person's level of education affects his way of understanding the world of politics." (1969 : 145).

Massialas (1975a) challenged the effectiveness of programs instructing political values and proposed changes which could heighten their effectiveness (1975b). These arguments will be examined in Chapter 6.

The use of the school curriculum as a device for inculcating attitudes and values was investigated using content analysis and case

study techniques (Fagen, 1964, Wylie, 1957, Litt, 1970). There was little evidence to support the notion that civics classes increased the political awareness of those taking them. (Langton and Jennings, 1968, McClintock and Turner, 1962).

"The acquisition of political orientations and patterns of behaviour seems to owe far more to the influence of the environment and experience than to specific learning or indoctrination." (Rush and Althoff, 1971 : 45).

"The civic education program does not simply reinforce the prevailing sentiments and political climate of the community. Nor are attitudes about political participation and varying levels of political activity affected by courses in civic education. Even a combination of numerous textual references and support from community leaders fails to result in attitude changes about the role of the citizen in public life." (Litt, 1970 : 333).

Nonetheless, curricula to develop political studies have continued to be developed (Brennan, 1974, Crick and Porter, 1978). The most recent and extensive work of this kind in Britain is Crick's application of the notion of 'political literacy' to a programme for political education.

"Political literacy must be a compound of knowledge, skills and attitudes to be developed together each conditioning the other. Knowledge alone was rejected as an object of political education, but so was an unreflective and uninformed participation. A politically literate person must be able to use his knowledge, or at least see how it would be used and have a proclivity for using it; but equally his or her desire to participate must be informed by as much knowledge of what he is going into and of what consequences are likely to follow from his actions as is needed to make participation effective and justifiable." (Crick and Porter, 1978 : 37).

Crick and Porter are committed to the dissemination of political literacy through a teaching programme. They do, however, acknowledge in passing that

"the style of teaching and general atmosphere of the school should be versatile, open and reasonably 'democratic', that is, enabling considerable student participation in as many aspects of the programme as possible." (Ibid : 203).

In an Appendix entitled 'Political Competence', Slater and Hennessey ask

"do we train young people to live in a democracy

by talking to them excessively rather than inviting their views? Does repeated copying from textbooks on worksheets produce autonomous citizens? Do such arrangements as a few prefects, but many non-prefects, or the employment of corporal punishment, prepare for life in a democracy? Is the curriculum in general, and each syllabus in particular, actually explained or justified to pupils at any stage? Are 'options' really informed choices?" (Ibid : 256).

No attempt is made to answer these questions nor to compare the educational experiences of pupils taking the programme with their experiences in general in school. The weakness of all such curriculum developments is in their application within the school and in the discontinuities between the objectives of the curriculum project and the usual school environment. This will be further examined in Chapter 6.

Dawson and Prewitt have drawn attention to the rituals of school life which transmit and reinforce political values. Such rituals as singing the national anthem, saluting the flag, honouring of patriotic events or heroes are designed to induce attachment and respect to the state and its institutions. But as Dawson and Prewitt pointed out

"The fact that ritual experiences are stressed in the classroom does not give a clear picture of what is contained in them, how effective they are, and how important they are in relation to other socialisation methods." (1969 : 157).

Furthermore, from the pupils' point of view it is the ritual, rather than the intention of the ritual which is apparent.*

The role of the teacher in political socialisation was also a subject for research looking at, for example, the classroom climate and the social system established by the teacher (Wylie, 1959, Hess and Torney, 1968, Pye and Verba, 1965). The teacher also acts as a model of political authority and his influence on his pupils can consequently be extensive (Koff and von der Muhll, 1967, Prewitt, 1971).

From a commitment to education as being a source of development, experience and empirical studies caused a shift to acknowledging the

* For a discussion of the role of rituals in the culture of the school, see Bernstein et al, 1971.

constraints that inhibit the agencies of the school, the teacher in particular, from exercising such influence. This concern generated a number of studies which focussed on the hidden curriculum (Eggleston, 1977, Jackson, 1968, Rosenbaum, 1976, Snyder, 1971). Are the messages of the hidden curriculum contradicting or supporting the socialisation agencies? What are the implications of this for political development?

The paradigm shift which moved the focus of attention from institutions to individuals also helps to explain the development of interest in political socialisation.

"For the student of politics, a changed and rapidly changing political world means that new questions must be asked. Raising new questions leads to new concepts and new research techniques... Political socialization has to do with 'people oriented' explanations of political events. It is a concept directing attention toward the knowledge, values and beliefs of the average citizen." (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969 : 4).

Political socialisation theorists, then, are concerned with the processes through which an individual acquires his political orientations as well as the processes a society uses to transmit its culture. Nonetheless, most political socialisation studies have viewed

"the ways in which the agencies of political socialisation reach and affect children, conditioning them to present acceptance and future support of particular systems." (Stevens, 1977).

Political literacy theorists have directed their attention at the ways in which the school can be used consciously to affect political socialisation. These areas of interest supply information about how the individual learns about politics and what the individual learns about politics. Clearly, understanding political development is facilitated by this kind of information. However, political development in this study is described by the degree to which individuals are able to meet their needs, particularly as these relate to decision making and processes of change. Whereas political socialisation describes where the individual is in a passive sense, and attempts to explain how he got there, political development is a description of the active relationship between where he sees himself to be and where he needs and wants to be. An individual within a society cannot help but be socialised. He might not necessarily be politically developed. His

level of political development is displayed in part by his ability to relate his political knowledge and beliefs to his political environment. The questions thus remain. Does education affect political development and, if so, in what ways? What is learned in school which is relevant to political development?

Education, Political Development and the Hidden Curriculum.

Most recently, educationalists have been asking questions of the form "Are education and political development compatible?" "Can schools meet human needs as they are now being identified in the literature or must they always act simply as political socialisers, with its associated notion of social control?" (Davies, 1976). One school of thought generated the de-schooling idea (Illich, 1973; Reimer, 1971), asserting that schools are so dysfunctional to the needs of the pupils and of society that they should be closed and replaced with alternatives such as educational centres or educational resource networks. But

"they tell us very little about how such innovations would be introduced and sustained, even less about the means by which institutionalized education would be brought to the point of collapse." (Hargreaves, 1972 : 423).

The argument that the resources are available to meet those individual requirements so badly satisfied by schools is unconvincing. Who would, for example, administer the learning centres? Former teachers? But performing their roles very differently? Practically, with demand for conventional education still reflecting an economic value in the eyes of most parents, it is unlikely that governments could or would implement such a programme.

"It would be politically realistic to assert that, at the moment, changes in the central structure of educational systems ... are less likely to be caused by alternative movements than by changes in the economy's system of production and by the planning of permanent education which is already leading to a radical reassessment of the school." (Lister, 1974 : 14).

Another school of thought generated the notion of Education as Cultural Imperialism (Carnoy, 1974, de Kadt, 1976, Bowles and Gintis, 1976) with its associated, hopeful, notion of Education for Liberation (Freire, 1974, Bay, 1977).

"In my view this leaves political education as virtually the only viable avenue toward a liberating revolutionary

development ... The most immediate objective of a liberating political education must be to escape from and to learn to counter with one's own words the language of the oppressors. The first truth about the political world is that it is oppressive, for it severely restricts the satisfaction of basic human needs. Our formal school systems, unless or until enough individual teachers are motivated to practise political education will in every country continue to serve as instrumentalities of domination." (Bay, 1977 : 20/23).

Recently, educationalists have been concerned with the question of exactly what is learned through the overt and covert methods of the school, methods such as the rituals mentioned above (overt) and the classroom climate (covert). Snyder (1971) invoked the concept of The Hidden Curriculum to investigate the contradiction between the overt messages and the hidden pressures which university students experience. The concept has been used extensively to signify many different aspects of schooling. Dreeben argued that independence, achievement, specificity and universalism are four important outcomes of schooling and that the school is uniquely capable of developing them but does so through a hidden rather than overt curriculum.

"It is my contention that the social experiences available to pupils in schools, by virtue of the nature and sequence of their structural arrangements provide opportunities for children to learn norms characteristic of several facets of adult public life, occupation being but one." (1968 : 65).

Illich used the Hidden Curriculum to describe the structure and functions of schooling rather than what happens in school (1971). While different usages of the term have led to some looseness in its application, there is a consensus that what is learned in school is not simply a function of subject matter designated by the manifest curriculum. Indeed, the social learning is at least as powerful in the development of the individual as the academic.

In their study, Inkeles and Smith asserted

"our data show unambiguously that the schools clearly had a substantial effect on pupils exposed to their influence. They learned more than reading, writing and figuring. They also learned values, attitudes and ways of behaving highly relevant to their personal development and to the future of their countries." (1974 : 143).

They offered no explanation for the power of the school, as an institution,

to change behaviour, values and attitudes in the way described. But the hidden curriculum can provide such an explanation if the concept is invoked to cover a clearly defined and identifiable range of learning. The manifest curriculum is specified in terms of particular content and skills. But the pupil also learns through the processes he experiences, through his interactions, through the institutional structures. (See Chapter 6).

Education for political development is now seen as an outcome of the totality of learning experiences rather than as an outcome of particular content taught in social studies or politics lessons. This then requires an evaluation of education for political development to include an evaluation of the hidden curriculum, that is, of the structures within the school system, of the relationships which these structures permit, of the values, attitudes and behaviour of teachers and taught and the consistency or inconsistency with which these are pursued in the light of developmental objectives.

The analysis has now reached a point where political development is acknowledged as being affected by the individual's total educative experience. As Castle described the

"basic proposition ... development requires what good education requires: and education requires what development requires." (1972 : 135).

But it has been shown that educational systems have largely failed to engender developmental outcomes because the impact of the whole process, other than simply the provision and content of the schooling, has not been assessed.

"There is an entire dimension missing from most curricular theory. It is a value dimension and, since education is everywhere a public issue, it is therefore a political dimension."
(Macdonald : 1)

Political scientists have examined the application of the concept of development and treated educational systems as one part of the input to that analysis. Massialas noted

"the few scholars who deal with it (education) in relation to the political system ... refer to it only in passing." (1977 : 277).

Indeed, in many studies on development, there is no listing for education in the Index at all. Similarly, educationists have been concerned with the outcomes of schooling, without having a developmental framework within which to analyse these outcomes. The purpose of the present

work is, then, to propose such a framework, or model, which can guide the analysis of development and education and consequently of education for development, providing signposts both for description and prescription. In Chapter 3, the model will be outlined. In Chapter 6, the model will be applied to education. The use of one theoretical framework through which to analyse political development and education provides coherence to the analysis of their inter-relationship.

CHAPTER 3

A MODEL FOR ANALYSING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In arriving at the conclusion that political development is a learned phenomenon, two major questions suggest themselves. The first is whether there is a model which can adequately describe political development; the second is how appropriate is this model to the current learning experience of individuals. The possible reaction of elites to the implications of the model will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

In order to be useful, a model must not only explain past experience and knowledge accumulation but also offer some predictive power for the future. A model is a tool for analysis of a problem. The requirements of such a tool are that it clarifies current understandings offering a structure which aids in the development of deeper insights. It must be relevant to current concerns and the present state of knowledge. It must be effective in the analysis of present problems. A model helps in the organisation of information about a problem and highlights previously obscured questions relating to it. Most of all, it should satisfactorily find a place within it for all those hypothesised components which are to be found in the literature in a presently unstructured, and consequently less accessible, form.

If such a model can be derived from the foregoing discussion, its axes will reflect and encompass those significant aspects of political development and education which carry empirical or theoretical conviction in the recent literature. The current view of political development is as an individual, learned phenomenon with a concentration on human needs and values. For example, Garner stated

"In contrast to analyses of political development that leave the solution of human problems as their last highly-abstracted theoretical spin off, I have sought ... to begin with human problems and then proceed to relate political systems to these problems." (1976 : 262)

Over and over again in the literature, attention is drawn to similar phenomena. Different authors have different preferences and different perspectives whether in terms of individual demands on society,

or in terms of role satisfaction or in terms of personal or inter-personal health needs. Essentially the same aspects of development are emphasised, in each of the listings described below, although Maslow and Sites look from the individual towards the structures and Blau, Kelman and Dreeben look at the components of the structures which are required to meet individual needs.

Gurr's (1970) categories have been used to show the relatedness between developmental needs and values of the various listings mentioned. (See Table 1). With the individual providing the unit of analysis, each item in the list is there primarily because of its impact on individual experience and behaviour, not because of its implication for social structure.

Maslow (1943) produced a hierarchy of human needs which began with the need for belongingness, and continued through the need for a sense of freedom, including a sense of personal power and of competence, the need for self-esteem, requiring acceptance as a valued person and having a sense of being more than a pawn, and the need for self-actualization, so long as the opportunities were available for the individual to act. Some needs and values could only be ascribed by the social environment in which the individual was placed. For example, the need for a sense of freedom, and the need for self-actualization are bound into the social fabric which represents the norms of the particular society. In some societies, these needs cannot be satisfied because the society has not created the possibility for their satisfaction. There are some needs, then, which the individual can acknowledge and attempt to satisfy through his own actions. There are others which require institutions established through a social consensus that they are necessary.

Sites (1973) postulated eight basic human needs, the need for response and consistency in response, the need for stimulation, the need for security, the need for recognition, the need for distributive justice, the need to appear rational and develop rationality, the need for meaning to be deduced from consistent response and the need for a sense of control. These needs were derived from the attempt by an individual to secure and preserve a role through which

"he acquires and maintains his recognition, security and stimulation." (Burton, 1979, p. 73 where an extensive coverage of the needs literature is to be found).

In discussing basic values, Kelman distinguished between the individual and social components of human dignity; the former he referred to as 'identity' and the latter as 'community'.

"To maximise human dignity a society needs institutions designed to expand the range of individual choices; to create opportunities for self-development; ... to promote widespread participation in decision-making ... At the same time, maximization of human dignity also calls for institutions designed to meet ... basic needs for food, housing, clothing, security, health care, and education." (1977 : 532/3).

Blau (1977) divided the influences on social structure into the discontinuous such as sex, religion, race, profession around which boundaries can be drawn, and the continuous such as education, income, age. Of all these influences, education has a particular role and is amenable to investigation and change.

Dreeben asserted that there were four (required) outcomes of the schooling process. These were independence, achievement, universalism and specificity and that

"children begin at a very young age to internalise the political norms which characterise the system, e.g. participation, social trust, political efficacy." (1968 : iii).

Three inter-dependent parameters have been chosen for the construction of a model of political development. These three parameters adequately encompass the criteria to be found in the literature and allow these criteria to be used in contexts independent of economic growth or particular political system. Not only, therefore, are these three concepts applicable to different cultural/political settings, but, taken together, they also offer a global representation of the listings mentioned above. Since the authors of these lists claim that they represent basic human needs, the three parameters are culture free, in the sense that they describe universally accepted needs and values.

The three axes of the proposed model of values and needs that apply particularly to political development as a learned phenomenon are participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. Political development is, consequently, described as a three dimensional continuum dependent upon increasing participation and social mobilisation and decreasing vulnerability. The three dimensions encompass social role criteria, under participation. Here would be found aspects

Table 1
Relationship between values and developmental needs
(using Gurr's categories)

	Needs for development
Welfare Values	Competency (Maslow, Sites, Lasswell & Kaplan) Identity (Kelman, Sites) Self-actualization (Maslow, Laswell & Kaplan) Stimulation (Sites)
Power Values	Control (Maslow, Sites) Efficacy (Maslow) Security (Sites) Capacity (Pye)
Interpersonal Values	Affiliation (Maslow) Recognition (Maslow, Sites, Lasswell & Kaplan) Consistency of response (Sites) Equality (Sites, Pye) Differentiation (Pye) Community (Kelman)

Table 2
Distribution of needs over the three axes of the
model of political development

Political
development

	Needs for development
Participation (high)	Efficacy (Maslow) Affiliation (Maslow) Equality (opportunity) (Pye/Bell)
Social Mobilisation (high)	Community (Kelman) Capacity (Pye) Differentiation (Pye) Competency (Maslow, Sites, Lasswell & Kaplan) Self-actualization (Maslow, Lasswell & Kaplan) Equality (results) (Pye/Bell) Stimulation (Sites)
Vulnerability (low)	Recognition (Maslow, Sites, Lasswell & Kaplan) Consistency of response (Sites) Security (Sites) Control (Maslow, Sites) Identity (Kelman)

of efficacy and affiliation. They also include social action criteria, under social mobilisation. Here would be found aspects of self-actualisation, competency and capacity. Under vulnerability, criteria related to individual needs such as security, recognition and consistency of response can be placed. The three axes can cover such listings as Pye's (1966), of equality*, differentiation and capacity by placing them within participation and social mobilisation, or of Sites' (1973), of security, control and consistency, covered by vulnerability. Maslow's needs for competency and self-actualisation fit within social mobilisation. (See Table 2).

All three notions are particularly appropriate to the current doctrine of the role and function of the school and the application of school experiences to social behaviour. Taking Blau's point of the pervading and permeating influence of education on social structure, using a model such as the one proposed allows for educational and social experience to be related to the development of the individual, through the application of the same theoretical framework to both experience and development.

Many authors have their favourite list of needs or values by which they organise their thinking. Some, for example, Kelman's, Lasswell and Kaplan's, Maslow's, Pye's and Sites' have been mentioned. There are many others. The present model is offered as a general tool into which all the other lists can be fitted and which facilitates an analysis of political development and education. Having arrived at the point of describing development as a concept which relates to the individual and his learning in the social context, the axes of the model reflect this view. Participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability are the three axis used to describe political development. Increasing political development is dependent upon increasing participation, increasing social mobilisation and decreasing vulnerability. Since, I have defined development as a learned phenomenon, learning experiences will inform changes in the three parameters.

*Bell has drawn a distinction between 'equality of opportunity' and 'equality of results' in discussing equality as 'a major value' (1975 : 146/7). Equality of opportunity is placed within participation, equality of results within social mobilisation. See Table 2.

Criteria of participation

Demands for participation in the state polity are integral to the development of political systems. The notion of participation is not here being used in terms of particular forms of political behaviours which have been developed in some states, that is, for example, the use of the ballot box. The ability to participate includes a range of personal and social as well as political factors.

"The problem of participation commonly has to do with rapid increases in the volume and intensity of demands for a share in the decision-making of the political system by various groups and strata in the domestic society. Such increases in demands for participation are usually associated with, or have the consequence of producing, some form of political infrastructure - political groups, cliques, and factions, and representative legislative assemblies. Demands for participation may also challenge a political system to develop political competence and the attitudes associated with it among groups in the society, and responsive attitudes and bargaining skills among the elite." (Almond and Powell, 1971 : 60).

Participation is used to describe the degree to which an individual feels able to demand to create and to use social structures. A sense of participation is reflected by an acknowledgement that social structures belong to the individual. It is the converse of alienation, where the societal forms dominate and human needs and values must accommodate (or not).

"Participation provides the most effective way to reach ... compromise ... We may compare social systems in terms of the extent to which they are participatory and expect that those which are more participatory will also be relatively less alienating." (Etzioni, 1969 : 327/8).

Aspects of individual development such as literacy, contribute to the ability to be both participant, and participator.

"Participants are people who behave as they are expected to in situations that call for certain types of responses, like voting on election day; while participators contribute creatively, and therefore to some extent unpredictably." (Pranger, 1968, quoted in Bay, 1977 : 5).

This is an important distinction, between the reactive participation to social stimulus, and the interactive participation chosen by the individual. The need is for the opportunity to participate, rather than the necessity of involvement in decision-making. The efficacy of the individual is reflected in his opportunity to exert pressure and influence decisions at his chosen

level of operation, be that the family, the community, the workplace or the school. Goulet says

"development must be pursued in such a way that all men are allowed to become agents of their own social destiny." (1973 : 123).

But at the same time, he quotes Hagen to support the statement that

"most people do not want to exercise great responsibilities." (Ibid : 145).

His conclusion is to assert

"the principle of optimum participation in decision-making" which "asserts normatively:

- a) that development pedagogy ought to portray development in terms of progressivity of the economy rather than economic progress;
- b) that all men are entitled to become agents, and not mere beneficiaries of their own development;
- c) that only experimentation can provide specific answers as to the optimum blend of specialised competence with popular sharing in decisions." (Ibid : 148).

Participation then, is seen as being a vital component of political development, and to encompass many of the notions which are identified in the literature as being fundamental, notions such as equality, legitimacy, efficacy.

Criteria of social mobilisation

Yet another component of political development is the idea of social mobilisation developed by Karl Deutsch.

"Social mobilisation is a name given to an over-all process of change ... which brackets together a number of more specific processes of change, such as changes of residence, of occupation, of social setting, of face-to-face associates, of institutions, roles and ways of acting, of experiences and expectations, and finally of personal memories, habits and needs, including the need patterns of group affiliation and new images of personal identity ... these changes tend to influence and sometimes to transform political behaviour." (Deutsch, 1963 : 582).

Social mobilisation, then, is a measure, in Deutsch' terms, of the expansion of the politically relevant strata of the population, of a

change in the quality of politics through changes in the range of contexts, of roles, of applications, of identities. Social mobilisation could be seen as a result of consciousness-raising and is clearly different from political mobilisation (which is the deliberate attempt to marshall members of society in a particular political direction. The impact of such raised consciousness is to be observed on the level of political development of individuals (which might not necessarily result in their political mobilisation).

Social mobilisation is not independent of participation, indeed, the possibility of inter-dependency between the two parameters is acknowledged. Nash, Dandler and Hopkins pointed out:

"The future of participatory forms of production and distribution depends on the social mobilisation of people ... for sustained involvement in the day-to-day decision-making of enterprises." (1976 : 25).

However, it is clear that there are aspects of the political development process which are distinctive and which it is fruitful to classify under participation separately from social mobilisation. While, for example, group membership is a function of participation, the roles thereby enacted are a function of social mobilisation.

Social mobilisation appears to be descriptive much more of social, than personal, phenomena. However, observing the degree to which social mobilisation is dependent upon personal factors serves to underline the shift from a structural to an individual perspective. The kinds of needs which have been identified as contributing to social mobilisation relate, for example, to competency, self-actualization and capacity. These are all a function of the ways in which individuals perceive their roles and their opportunities, and their competency to fulfil them. Clearly social provision of institutions, structures and choices will affect the individual's opportunity to use the skills which increase social mobilisation. But whether the social provision is there or not, the degree of social mobilisation is dependent upon the presence in individuals of the attributes which enable them to perceive and utilise the resources which society provides. An example of this was the effect of the "Black is Beautiful" slogan on the American black community in the United States. This slogan was initially intended to reduce vulnerability by changing the self-image of the young black individual. However, it also affected his social mobilisation by

changing his view of what was possible for blacks and consequently changing skill and information acquisition. As a result, many blacks were socially mobilised; they increased their use of available social resources and they attempted to effect changes in the scope, scale and effectiveness of these resources. They also increased their participation in community pressure groups in attempts further to effect their social mobilisation. Blair (1977), has described this impact and the social and personal responses to it. He pointed out, however, that amongst working class blacks, frustration levels increased as their social mobilisation, that is their heightened understanding and skill in using social resources, was not matched by changes in their opportunities or their social mobility. However, middle class blacks, by virtue of their education and economic status were able to be more effective in using their increased social mobilisation. A further example of this is the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. The young people in Soweto have had their overall political development significantly affected. The self image aspects of Black Consciousness impinge upon vulnerability, as they did in the United States. The social mobilisation effects are similarly there in the changing perception of roles, opportunities, information as these affect the community. The participation effects on community action and expectations are also very visible.

Access to and availability of information is an important contributory factor in social mobilisation together with the opportunities to make changes in role, group affiliation, or occupation. The pivotal criterion of social mobilisation, however, is the ability of individuals critically to use information and resources. Whereas participation is seen as being an individual phenomenon, with social implications, social mobilisation is seen as a social phenomenon which draws upon individual factors.

Criteria of vulnerability

The third parameter of political development is decreasing vulnerability.

"An individual is vulnerable when he is exposed to injury, societies when they have no adequate defenses against the social forces which propel them into the processes of change. Underdevelopment is not merely the lack of development ... (it) is an historical by-product of development ... (it) is a consciously experienced state of deprivation rendered intolerable because of newly acquired information regarding the

development of other societies and the existence of technical means for abolishing misery." (Goulet, 1973 : 38/39).

Vulnerability is the linking variable between participation and social mobilisation, being applicable both to individual and social phenomenon. It is the degree to which individuals and social groups are unable to protect themselves from psychological, economic, social or political intrusion.

Vulnerability is dependent on the awareness by the individual or the social group of his own position in relation to that of others. To this degree, vulnerability incorporates aspects of modernisation since awareness is a comparative phenomenon and depends upon, for example, interest in and openness for new experiences, an orientation placing the individual in a realistic relation to the past, present and most especially the future, the valuing of technical skill, a recognition and respect for dignity. All of these criteria are to be found in the list of twelve factors of modernisation in Inkeles and Smith's book, *Becoming Modern* (1974). Vulnerability has embedded in it, also, the notion of reciprocity or, perhaps, more accurately, the lack of reciprocity. Vulnerable individuals and societies are dependent, they are recipients rather than instigators of action, their relationships as a consequence are unequal.

"Except where genuine reciprocity can be established in relationships, these lead to manipulation on the one hand, servility on the other ... without reciprocity there is 'aid', perhaps, but not cooperation or genuine development." (Goulet, 1973 : 52).

The strength of the notion of vulnerability is that it fixes attention on the nature of a relationship and the responsibilities of all parties to foster and develop it, in their own interests as well as those of the other. For example, on the donor/recipient relationship Barkan wrote:

"Tanzania has been adept at diversifying its sources of foreign assistance, and at reducing the share of assistance provided by the major industrial countries, especially Britain and the United States. This diversification has reduced the vulnerability of Tanzania's strategies for socialist development to actions by the major capitalist powers, and at the same time, permitted Tanzania to play a more active role than Kenya in the affairs of the region." (1979 : 31)

Further, the inability of technologically advanced states to overcome ecological problems and social distribution problems and the problems of quality of life to which Barbara Ward (Hanson and Brembeck, 1966 : 83/91) has drawn attention, are currently causing increased sensitivity and reassessment of social values which have been tied to economic values. Goulet wrote

"pre-technological societies still have much to teach modern societies regarding the importance of rendering socially respectable such attitudes and discipline as silence, solitude, contemplation, communion with the rhythms of nature, and respect for the dignity of the cosmos. Without these disciplines no society and no group of social planners can liberate itself from that worship of techniques which prevents it from harnessing technique to human ends." (1977 : 241/2).

This model of political development can be demonstrated by applying it to some current situations. Despite economic growth, higher average standards of living, and higher consumption levels, states such as Great Britain, the United States of America and U.S.S.R. lack comprehensive and coherent political development on the basis of the three criteria. Black youths in Brixton, London or Harlem, New York, or Chicanos in California or members of para-military groups in Belfast, Northern Ireland or members of so-called 'dissident groups' in the U.S.S.R. have in common experienced participation failure in the society in which they are placed, unfulfilled social mobilisation demands and high vulnerability. To the extent that these three states have failed to meet the needs of these sections of their societies, then the model suggests that these states cannot be called politically developed in spite of conventional wisdom. Similar minority problems have surfaced in many less developed countries, for example Lebanon, Nigeria and Guyana. This suggests that the problems associated with political development are similar despite very different levels of economic development.

It is instructive to look at a community such as the Turkish Community in Cyprus which in the years 1964 - 1974, claimed very high levels of participation by its members (for example, trade union leaders in a private personal communication claimed 80% membership) and high social mobilisation, during the period when it was an enclosed community. Certainly as a community it was highly vulnerable but the high levels achieved in participation and social mobilisation might

well substantiate a claim for that community being more politically developed than many analysts would expect. Similarly, the case of the Soweto Community in South Africa has already been cited above. Substantially, then, the argument being advanced here is that no state can claim political development in any 'take-off' sense of having passed a particular point. Political development is a constant process of change and re-adjustment and is dependent upon increasing levels of participation, and social mobilisation and decreasing vulnerability. In the sense that these factors are themselves always subject to change in the relationships between individuals in societies and across societies, political development itself will be subject to the fluctuations always observed in human and social relationships.

With the model as a framework, what does political development mean in terms of the three criteria, participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability? Hah and Schneider demanded two requisites for the construction of models. Their first was methodological rigour: the model should elicit testable hypotheses about the real world, as well as theories that may help to reformulate and clarify the model. Their second requisite was an appreciation of the history of the field: the model should be informed by history so as to reach

"a most propitious level of analysis." (1968).

Chapters 1 and 2 dealt with the second of their requisites. What testable hypotheses does the model provoke?

1. Participation is a function of the responsibility and effectiveness of the individual. This hypothesis leads to questions concerning the patterns of decision making at different levels of society and the means available for resolving conflicts of interest at each level (responsibility). It also provokes questions regarding what channels are available to the individual. What potential they have and at what different levels, for example, the work level, the community level, the local area level and the national level. What forms of action are available to individuals at each level (effectiveness)? (See, for example, Stradling, 1977).
2. Social mobilisation results from consciousness raising in the social context. It depends upon information, opportunities,

qualifications and social organisation.

Questions suggest themselves regarding the availability use and evaluation of information by individuals, perceived access to opportunities and to qualifications, forms of social action, both available and created.

3. Vulnerability is displayed in behaviour showing feelings of incapacity, rather than efficacy; fear, rather than confidence; manipulation rather than control.

Such feelings can, and have been, tested in empirical studies. (See, for example, Almond and Verba, 1963, Greenstein and Tarrow, 1970, Stradling, 1977).

The acceptance of the model has implications for the learning, as well as the social, experience of individuals. It leads to a further set of questions related to the educational needs of the individual in order to create and maintain a high level of political development. The learner requires knowledge to facilitate participation and social mobilisation and reduce vulnerability. Equally, the learner requires skills so that he can function at his chosen level. Finally, the learner requires development orientation on which he can draw with confidence. All three categories, knowledge, skills and orientation carry implications for the contribution of the school, since knowledge, skills and orientation can be acquired in the educational context. Parry went further and asserted that

"participation is part of a process of political and moral education. It is an education in responsibility and the assumption of developmental theories is that responsibility can only be developed by wielding it." (1972 : 26).

Participation

1. Does the learner acquire information (content) about the means to participate in his society?
2. Does he practise the skills of participation through such forms

of action as pupils' councils? Petitions? Access to decision-makers and decision-making within the school?

3. Does he have a participatory model presented to him in, for example, the functioning of a Parent-Teacher Association, the organisation of staff decision-making, the classroom climate as for example authoritarian, democratic or laissez-faire?
4. Does he experience the responsibilities and the effectiveness of participation through consultation and participation in the classroom, in the school, between the school and the family, between the school and the environment in which it is placed?

Social mobilisation

1. Do pupils learn about the availability and use of information?
2. Are pupils provided with opportunities to experience different activities in their environment in order to base choices on first hand knowledge?
3. Are pupils encouraged to search for, use and choose between alternative approaches or procedures?
4. Are pupils learning to identify and classify the different roles enacted in their environment and the means whereby these roles are allocated?

Vulnerability

1. Are pupils and teachers respected and made to feel competent?
In what ways?
2. Are pupils and teachers encouraged to increase their confidence?
In what ways?
3. Are pupils and teachers provided with means whereby they feel in control?
4. Are pupils, teachers and parents able to influence authorities?
In what ways?

Many of these questions were embedded in the research done by the Political Education Research Unit at the University of York. They monitored a programme for political education in six schools. Their aims were

- "1. To produce indicators of political literacy.
2. To produce case studies of good practice.
3. To identify the possibilities, problem areas, and limitations of political education programmes in schools." (1977 : 14a).

One of the outcomes of the project was the acknowledgement of

"the possibility of the explicit aims in political education in schools being contradicted by the latent assumptions inherent in classroom practice and institutional structures (that is, the explicit curriculum contradicted by 'the hidden curriculum')." (Ibid : 113).

This contradiction will be further explored in Chapter 6.

This conclusion is directly contrary to that of Lister who stated that

"in modern society, schools are in a very weak position to affect behaviour, to determine attitudes, or to transmit values." (1976 : 4).

It is certainly apparent that schools are only one of the agencies which a young person experiences but their power to affect behaviour appears to be considerable. (Rutter et al, 1979; Schmidt, 1979).

Writing of the educational system Tapper asserted

"I would maintain that this has more bearing upon the shape of political behaviour than all other aspects of formal education... It is the link between both society's values and socio-economic relations and the kind of educational experience to which individuals are exposed." (1976 : 45).

That educational experience exerts influence on behaviour is suggested by Reynolds and Jones:

"Recent evidence has supported the view that the 'tone' or 'ethos' of a school can also have important effects on levels of pupil delinquency, vandalism and alienation... An authoritarian, repressive or custodial attitude amongst the teaching staff of a school is likely to be delinquency creating." (1978 : 41/42).

Where there is little consistency between the values of the school and of the pupils, the influence of the school may be overridden by the power of the peer group - at least with secondary school pupils (Hargreaves, 1971). Nonetheless, the pupils respond to a value and behavioural orientation and in this sense their responses are still affected by their perceptions of school structures. Assumption of value-free environments in schools conflict with observable experience.

"Education is a crucial mechanism for ... initiating people into those skills, attitudes and values which are essential for effective role performance." (Sharp and Green, 1975 : 220).

The argument is that learning takes place overtly through direct teaching of content or skills, and also through social interaction during which the learner matches his values, attitudes and behaviours to those in his environment. To expand his social interaction learning, a child might use a particular adult as a model for some aspects of his behaviour, or sharpen other aspects within the pressures of the peer group. It is a cumulative process of test and re-test and inconsistencies between, for example, verbal and non-verbal behaviour, are inputs to the process. What, for example, does a child learn when his mother spansks him saying, "I will not have you hitting people!" He could be learning that what is not all-right for him, is all-right for his mother. But, why? Because she is bigger and more powerful? Then, will it be all-right for him to hit people when he is bigger? Or when he is older? Or when he is stronger? Sometimes mother is heard to say, "Don't let me catch you" Does this mean that it is all-right to hit so long as you are not caught? Does this example only apply between mother and child, or is the child having similar experiences with other authority figures in his environment? For example, are certain behaviours tolerated in the classroom so long as the child does not challenge authority directly? Does the teacher appear to exercise arbitrary authority? Are the rules applied consistently or inconsistently? At the higher levels of the school system, is the overt value which is emphasised that of learning, while the student's experience is that what is important is the passing of examinations?

"Most universities and faculties want their students to be able to have a variety of encounters, to learn from taking some intellectual risks, but the process by which they educate their students often creates circumstances which are destructive for many and inhibits any approach other than gamesmanship." (Snyder, 1971 : 113).

"So many students ... develop competences without affect or delight. They get their rewards from grades ... and not from the excitement of working through the idea in the paper ... Twenty years later such students are vulnerable, with their narrow range of supports for their self-esteem. Their brittleness may well persist, since they are dependent on society's equivalent of grades." (Ibid : 120).

The value of a tool such as the proposed model can be seen in the generation of researchable questions such as those above which structure

an investigation of education from the point of view of its impact on political development. The model directs attention to the behaviours, attitudes and values which are experienced by the learner in the school setting while he is ostensibly learning particular facts or skills in specific disciplines. Effectively, it enables the Hidden Curriculum to be exposed to the light of analysis and comparison with the norms of social expectation and the reality of school experience. If the hidden curriculum is a tool of social control, such an analysis should make this explicit. If the hidden curriculum is hidden as much from those who implement the curriculum as from those who receive its messages, then exposing its components and their effects can only be a beneficial exercise.

The derivation of the model of political development has provided a tool whereby important aspects of development and education can be analysed. The two concepts which have been chosen for analysis, in the next section, are ethnicity and modernisation. They have not only been chosen because of the importance they are accorded in the development literature but also because of their respective relationships to the educational process. Because of the implications for education of ethnicity and modernisation, these concepts will now be explored.

Section 2: Political development reassessed

In Section 1 the paradigm was established and a theoretical model derived. Section 2 applies the model, first to two concepts chosen from the political development literature, ethnicity and modernisation, and then to education. Ethnicity and modernisation have attracted much attention from scholars, but this is not the only reason for using them. Both impinge upon the educational/political development relationship. In Chapters 4 and 5, the model is used to expand understanding of these concepts and to help differentiate between them and political development. In Chapter 6, the role of the education system is re-examined in the light of the first section. The model is used to explore the mismatch between what is offered to the pupils as the overt education curriculum, and the reality they experience from the hidden curriculum.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNICITY

Recently there has been an increasing amount of attention given to the problem of ethnicity.

"Something new has appeared ... we feel that to see only what is familiar in the ethnicity of our time is to miss the emergence of a new social category as significant for the understanding of the present day world as that of social class itself."
(Glazer & Moynihan, 1975 : 2/3).

"We must add ethnicity as a major focus for the mobilization of interests, troublesome both to those who wish to emphasize the primacy of class, and those who wish to emphasize the primacy of nation." (Ibid : 18).

Ethnicity is clearly a problem which is closely related both to political development as defined in this study and to education, since it would be hard to find a nation-state in the world today which had a population so ethnically homogeneous that ethnic stratification need not be a cause for possible concern.

The increasing movement of populations, especially in the last twenty-five years, and the institutionalisation of colonial boundaries by new states, have multi-ethnic communities. States, especially new states, attach great importance to the building of national images, frequently in the context of a multi-ethnic citizenry. But minority groups have been seen as being an obstacle to nation-building, or at least as being problem-creating. This interpretation is usually made by the dominant group and often there is a low-status implication in the use of the term, minority. (For amplification, see Chapter X entitled The Rights of Man and the Fate of Minorities in Moskowitz, 1968).

LeVine and Campbell assert that

"the development of large-scale national units on a polyethnic basis entails the building of ethnic identities and loyalties at a level of grouping intermediate between the indigenous political units and the national state, namely in regions or ethnic-linguistic

blocs that engage in communal competition for newly available resources." (1972 : 100. See also, Geertz, 1963).

They continue

"In all of these developments, traditional and contemporary, the roles of ideology, cognition and social comparison processes are crucial." (Ibid : 101).

It is through educational experiences, that ideology, cognition and social comparison processes can be encountered and extended. Here again, in drawing attention to cognition, that is understanding, the learning aspect of political development is underlined. Hence ethnic identity and its function in political development is influenced by the content and practice of education. Equally

"it is clear that ethnicity is one of the more important determinants of how students view the political system." (Keller, 1978 : 248).

A discussion of ethnicity, in the light of the model, is consequently most appropriate.

Ethnic identification

Ethnicity is the term used to describe the condition of belonging to an ethnic group. Ethnocentrism is one form of identification used by the individual to place himself in a particular group and by a group to identify its members.

"Though there is difficulty in using the term ethnic in any consistent way, that common designation for a culturally defined 'communal group', is too persuasive to escape and by and large it will have to serve." (Bell, 1975 : 157).

Group identification might be sustained through language, religion or tribal or national origin. Membership of the group is usually ascriptive by birth and therefore only under certain circumstances voluntary. Defining characteristics of the group may be cultural or physical distinctiveness, and these may be retained by the closure of the group to outside penetration, for example, marriage being expected only between group members. Group membership can also be subjective, however, in that it is the individual who places himself within or outside the group. Where the individual associates himself with the group and the group recognises its own distinctiveness, means are frequently developed whereby the 'objective' criteria of group

membership can be met to the satisfaction of the group by the individual who is seeking membership. Thus, for example, although to be Jewish is to be a member, by birthright, of a distinctive ethnic group, it is possible to go through a course of instruction which culminates in being admitted as a member of the Jewish faith and, in the case of a woman, confers the rights of race on any children. By this means, the group accommodates to infringements of its closure and legitimises each infringement with little need for adaptation. Glazer and Moynihan suggest that ethnic groups

"may be forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves. As such, perhaps, the hope of disregarding ethnicity in a society as its subgroups assimilate to the majority may be as utopian and as questionable an enterprise as the hope of doing without social classes in a society." (1975 : 4/5).

The characteristics of ethnic groups

Enloe identifies ethnic groups by three characteristics. (1973 : 16/18). The first is that they are largely biologically self-perpetuating. Second, they share clusters of beliefs and values forming a communication network. Third, ethnic groups have internal differentiations, sometimes vertically in the form, for example, of language differences, sometimes horizontally, in the form of class, or income, disparities. In Enloe's view, three types of ethnic groups are the most prevalent, tribal, national and racial.

"Tribal ethnicity is characterised by cultural and communal boundaries derived from bonds of kinship ... membership is formal and the group is highly integrated ... (it possesses) no strong political organisation but (is) regulated by a variety of social institutions." (Ibid : 73).

The American Indians provide many examples of tribes. National ethnicity is a means of identifying ethnic groups with affiliations to a nation-state other than the one in which they are living.

"Their ethnic peculiarities may undergo modification, but basically they reflect the linguistic-religious-moral culture of their previous homeland." (Ibid : 24).

The Asian communities in East Africa are examples of national ethnic groups. Racial ethnicity derives from physical and biological distinctions.

"Racial ethnic groups are the result of someone else's prejudice." (Ibid : 25).

That is, the observable differences exist, but the commitment of the individual to the group is increased by experience. So the Black community in North America has become one ethnic group, despite the very wide spread of its tribal origins.

"If racial ostracism has led a people to cultivate a sub-culture of their own and if that sub-culture and its communal ties have positive values, then desertion of it for the sake of assimilation may in time lose its desirability." (Ibid : 26).

In any one state, one, two or all three types of ethnic groups may be present and their inter-relationships, and their relationships to the national polity will influence, and be influenced by the decisions taken at government level. Since this is a problem common to nation-states, it is important that they are in a position to make judgements for policy purposes based upon understanding of the ways in which the existence of ethnic groups might be supportive of, or detrimental to their objective - the development of a nation-state identity.

Functional aspects of ethnicity

Wallerstein (1963 : 667/8) draws out four main ways in which ethnicity can be functional for the individual. First, ethnic groups assume some of the functions of the extended family. The importance of kinship roles is thereby diminished, and the group meets some of the needs which could otherwise be demanded from state welfare organisations. This feeds back into group solidarity providing more support for the extension of the group's welfare activities. Glazer and Moynihan refer to

"the strategic efficiency of ethnicity as an organizing principle." (1975 : 15).

Through group pressures the individual gains required changes in the system. Bell takes the argument further:

"The spread of political decision-making forces the organization of persons into communal or interest groups, defensively to protect their places and privileges or advantageously to gain place and privilege." (1975 : 145).

In poorer states, in particular, this role of ethnic groups can be important to the state, as well as the individual.

Second, ethnic groups serve as a means of resocialisation since they

offer a wide network of skills and positions on which the individual can draw for social or economic purposes. Contacts are provided for recruitment outside the ethnic group into non-ethnic nationalist groups such as political parties. As the status of the ethnic group improves, so the opportunities for social mobilisation increase.

Third, group commitment to equality, as a value, plus the social mobilisation effects of status striving, may help to reduce individual vulnerability by breaking down rigid class stratification which is frequently ethnically related.

Fourth, ethnic groups under a nation-state umbrella can move inter-ethnic rivalries into national rivalries for political power in a non-tribal setting.

Enloe added the important psychological effects for the individual of an increase in self-confidence and efficacy through the experience of participating in an ethnic community (1973 : 33).

"The upsurge of ethnicity is a cultural gain in that it allows individuals ... to assert a sense of pride in what they regard as their own." (Bell, 1975 : 174).

These five positive aspects of ethnicity can be listed as:

1. social welfare
2. social mobilisation
3. reduction in class stratification (with a consequent possible reduction in individual vulnerability)
4. legitimised rivalries
5. increased individual self-confidence and efficacy (resulting from participation).

It is easily seen how these five points relate to increasing political development in terms of the model. Thus, a stable plural society may develop by encouraging and supporting ethnically differentiated groups. Where this happens, the stability of this society will be a function of its diversity. Rules and expectations dependent upon positive aspects of ethnicity such as those listed will govern the inter-relationships of the groups.

"We are also painfully aware of the inevitability of boundaries in society ... because they mean the persistence of valuable differences between systems, cultures, organisations ... The conciliation of openness and diversity, of cooperation without loss

of identity poses many technical problems, which are basically problems of the engineering of boundary-processes." (Strassoldo, 1979 : 19/20).

The positive experience of cultural differences from within the group and the positive evaluation of other cultures across groups are both important to the learning of the individual and are yet another example of the inter-relationships of political development, and this particular example of it in ethnic identification and education.

Dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity

The presence of ethnic groups can be seen, however, to present certain dysfunctional outcomes. Wallerstein draws attention to two main areas. First, ethnic groups are particularist in orientation and diffuse in their obligations. The result can be a growth of nepotism and corruption where a group is in a position so to practice. This is the negative side of the social mobilisation aspects mentioned above in point 2. Writing of Kenya, Hyden states

"People have developed and maintained social bonds primarily with those who can be most trusted, that is members of the same clan or neighbourhood, and, at the national level, members of the same tribe or subtribe." (Hyden, 1969 : 106).

"The former Chairman of the Public Service Commission has testified that his institution often found itself competing with tribal and other such informal cliques anxious to promote the interests of their members." (Ibid : 107/8).

The second problem area to which Wallerstein draws attention is that ethnic identity can lead to a growth of separatism, sometimes resulting in disputes about direction of change, or the allocation of scarce resources. It is not being argued that separatism itself is dysfunctional, but that it can lead to inter-group conflict where scarce resources are seen to be allocated on ethnic criteria.

Ethnicity and Political Planning

Authorities in many nation-states are faced with the need to govern multi-ethnic communities. They have adopted different administrative devices in their attempts to build national unity and cope with the reality of diversity within their boundaries. This is particularly so in many of the newer states in the world society where decisions on methods of approaching ethnicity are taken in the context of national

priorities which usually place national security and, therefore, the ability to govern, at the top of their list. Clearly the ability to govern is likely to be affected by ethnic distributions. The three main types of structure used to meet the problem of ethnic diversity are described by Enloe (1973 : 89) as federalism, autonomous regions and unitary systems.

Federalism

Federalism is one attempt to allow for diversity within a unified state. It was the device employed in Nigeria to allow for the dominating influence of the three main tribal groups each in a distinct geographical area. However, Enloe points out

"terrestrial diversity is much more dynamic and unpredictable than its planetary model. A principal force for change in an apparently stable order has been the ethnic group." (Ibid : 89).

The revised federal structure effected in Nigeria established twelve states, instead of the former four regions. It was hoped that the strength of each state in its bargaining position in reference to the other eleven, would be reduced, thereby allowing the central government to maintain control. But will a structural alteration together with central control over, for example, education, agricultural modernisation, internal security and road construction, be sufficient radically to alter the dispositions of personal loyalties and commitments which had such disastrous results previously in the civil war?

"The problem nagging at multi-ethnic, underdeveloped nations is this: under-development in the modern era creates a need for centralised authority to offset communal fragmentation; yet centralisation effective enough to control disintegrative forces requires resources beyond the reach of under-developed systems. When the dilemma is acute - that is, when intergroup animosity is strong and central authority is weak - countries are mired in apparently endless civil strife. We need only look at the conflicts in Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia and Iran to understand the dimensions of the problem." (Ibid : 92).

But it is not only in countries undergoing the pressures of modernisation and economic growth that the ethnic resistance to political centralisation is experienced. Canada is currently experiencing just such a problem with the demands of the French Canadians, voiced particularly through the Parti Quebecois, for separatism. The federal strategy appears

not to have met the economic, political and social needs of the French Canadian Community. The partial federal structure which existed between Great Britain and Northern Ireland was suspended when it appeared to be inadequate to cope with the demands of the community for the social, political and economic conditions existing elsewhere in Great Britain. Yet, despite this experience, the British Government proposed meeting the demands of other ethnic groups by 'devolution' in a federal model.

"Nation-builders find it easier to skirt such groups, accommodating the national structure to them in the hope that eventually they will be dispersed by nonethnic attachments."
(Ibid : 93).

Where the federal solution appears to have been successful for a multi-ethnic state, for example in Switzerland, the Soviet Union and the United States, it takes little investigation to uncover the presence of sometimes sizeable minority groups which are nevertheless creating problems for their respective governments.

"Development in the context of ethnic pluralism and federalism involves more than political engineering skills; it entails adjustment to unplanned ethnic change." (Ibid : 97).

Autonomous Regions

In a federal structure the central government is asserting its will and capacity to act nationally for all sections of the community and all individual citizens. Some nation-states prefer to adopt the solution of autonomous regions within their boundaries, thereby acknowledging limitations on their capacity, or will. The Kurds in Iran obtained administrative autonomy from the central government, as did the hill tribesmen of North Vietnam. So, too, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are administratively autonomous from the British Government.

"Autonomy makes most sense for an ethnic group that is peripheral to development. The central government does not require its manpower, its emotional attachment, or its resources." (Ibid : 142).

The fragile nature of this structure is obvious from both sides. The ethnic group can interpret autonomy as exclusion from the benefits

available to the rest of the state when once they begin to assess the comparative disadvantages of their position. Likewise, the central government may view the autonomous region as standing in the way of development when resources or strategic considerations change. It would appear, therefore, that the establishment of autonomous regions to contain ethnic differentiation is no more likely to be a successful policy in the long run than federalism has been.

Unitary systems

Unitary systems have been developed by states such as Sri Lanka, Guyana and Israel. They are all small states where the ethnic groups are inter-mingled geographically although in Guyana for example the political parties are split along ethnic lines and ethnic issues dominate much of the political life. The unitary structures have not led to a lessening of inter-ethnic group conflict; indeed, all three states cited have had serious inter-communal riots during the last few years. Israel's inter-communal problems were increased when the last Arab-Israeli conflict resulted in an expansion into Arab territory and in the number of Arabs forming a part of the Israeli citizenry. But Israel also has many other ethnically distinct groups. The distinctions are usually drawn by reference to the country of origin of the different groups. Thus there are the Oriental Jews and the European Jews, but within the European group, for example, there are the Polish or the Austrian or the English and the cultural differences are distinctive, including language.

In none of the unitary states cited have the structures been capable of implementing unitary attitudes, indeed the unitary structure and ethnic communalism coexist in an uneasy relationship which occasionally erupts in inter-ethnic violence. One of the most poignant examples of the failure of an attempt at unitary structures is shown in the experience of Cyprus. With two distinct ethnic groups, the minority being 18% of the population, and distinct social, economic and cultural patterns, unitary organization broke down within a short period after independence. A federal solution was canvassed for a long period of negotiation but since the last outbreak of violence, negotiations seem to be tending towards a structure of autonomous

regions. This small state will then have tried all three of the major types of structures which nation-states have attempted to use to overcome the problems of nation-statehood and ethnicity.

Nation-building

Two distinct approaches to nation-building are discernible whatever the type of structure that has been adopted. One approach attempts to over-ride the ethnic commitment of its citizens and superimpose a national identity to which all can relate. The other approach recognises the ethnic diversity and attempts to encompass it within the national image. The advantages to be gained by pressing towards nation-state building are usually economic but the benefits are not so immediate nor so great as to repay the citizens for abandoning traditional affiliations and expectations. Consequently, a state such as India, or Malaysia, which attempted to establish a new national image at independence and thereby undermine ethnic affiliations finds itself confronted now with ethnic disparities and disaffection. The experience of Nigeria, and Cyprus, which set out in the direction of ethnic diversity has been no more successful. In all cases there has been pressure towards the break-up of the nation state unit. Whatever the structure which has been used, the economic, social and political apparatus has not met the needs of those the structure is designed to serve. Indeed, Mayo goes so far as to suggest that the objective is misconceived.

"The thinking behind proposals for the creation of vast regions lacking any real identity is based on a failure to understand the cellular nature of human society: that healthy groups grow from the base upwards with all the variety and lack of uniformity this implies."
(1974 : 10).

Bell reinforces this in discussing

"the centrifugal forces of separation."
(1975 : 144).

Ethnicity and Political Development

Inevitably, the analysis leads towards the conclusion that political structures are not the independent variable in ensuring that ethnic

groups can perceive themselves as having a role within a nation-state and functioning successfully there. LeVine and Campbell suggest that

"the well-bounded ethnic entity is associated with a rather advanced state of political development." (1972 : 99).

and the model suggests that, whatever the structure, it is the levels of participation, vulnerability and social mobilisation which will dictate whether the structure can accommodate the needs of the members of the society it serves. The degree to which the political structures are legitimised by the society thus appears to depend upon the perceived opportunities for increased participation, and social mobilisation and decreased vulnerability. The extent of those perceived opportunities will vary from state to state and what is satisfactory within one society may well appear unsatisfactory within another. However, within one state, political development would appear to be dependent upon the satisfaction of group needs for participation, social mobilisation and decreased vulnerability as these are identified and particularised by the group. Presentation of these opportunities within a zero-sum framework in which one group sees itself in competition with another is dysfunctional for development since such competition will inevitably increase vulnerability and decrease the perceived participatory and mobilisation chances.

Changes in the hierarchical control of a state do not necessarily seem to affect these system demands which would appear to relate less to the style of decision-making structures than to the means available to individuals and small groups to expand their development potential. Hence, for example, the popular demand in new states for greater educational opportunities which are seen by parents as providing their children with these very possibilities. Only when educational structures do not meet the needs of socio-economic structures does some loss of confidence occur. To the extent that ethnic groups develop out of familiarity, custom and sentiment, they are emotional in character rather than functional. A trade union is a functional organisation which has specified functions. Not so an ethnic group which, for its members, depends upon the psychological predispositions of the individual. The identification procedure, then, cannot easily be analysed in terms of measurable rational advantages. Indeed, sometimes, the disadvantages are more obvious, although equally difficult to measure. However Glazer and Moynihan point out

"one of the striking characteristics of the present situation is the extent to which we find the ethnic group defined in terms of interest, as an interest group." (1975 : 7).

What has become clear, is that members of ethnic groups express needs such as for participation, efficacy, or affiliation, needs which have been described in this study as being integral to political development. Viewing these needs of the individual from a functional and dysfunctional view point, through the use of the model, provides a framework for consideration by policy makers. There is an interest in avoiding the breakdown in social organisation which often follows the unsatisfied demands of under-represented groups. It dictates the acknowledgement of individual needs, such as those of security, recognition or distributive justice (see Sites, 1973 : 43), rather than the emphasis on social organisation which has been a feature of the approach used by most states attempting to deal with the problem of ethnic diversity.

The political development model indicates that recognition of the separate status - cultural and/or political - of ethnic groups performs the following functions for their members.

1. It provides opportunities for participation. Ethnic identification provides a participatory structure with a network of communication, a language and regulated system of communication, which enables the individual to compare his own personal assessment of himself with others in a familiar context and to expand his participatory experience. It was earlier argued that such participatory opportunities are part of the pattern of human needs expressed by most members of society, in Sites' terms, the need for "control".

The need for participation by ethnic groups is too often denied because they are usually minorities. Their need is no less, indeed it could be greater because of their vulnerability, than the need of peoples generally of which Alabaster wrote (1972 : 50).

"Thus we can find evidence which supports the thesis that the demand for participation or for a participatory democracy is directly connected with the context of growing 'corporatism' ... many people do want to participate in the decision-taking processes of which they are normally only the objects, but that in 'normal'

times they simply do not believe that such participation is in any way a concrete possibility, and therefore there is no very visible evidence of their desire for it. But when the possibility of meaningful participation is suddenly opened up, those who were supposed to be, and had supposed themselves to be, contented or apathetic discover in themselves a desire for such participation which they did not know they possessed."

2. At the same time as the individual is experiencing psychological and social growth through his ethnic role, his identification also reduces his sense of vulnerability. While the ethnic group itself might be highly vulnerable, individual exposure is lessened in the security of the group.
3. Social mobilisation can be increased in the manner already analysed as part of the functional nature of ethnic groups, that is by offering a network of skills, positions and contacts which facilitates movement inside and across ethnic boundaries Coleman cites the case in the United States when

"the political resources of Negroes ... created enough pressure on the local unions to provide an allocation of a large proportion of apprenticeships for Negro applicants." (1971 : 83).

It would appear, therefore, that the criteria already presented as the parameters of political development are the same criteria that can explain the attachment of individuals to ethnic identity. This attachment appears to be increasing in the nation-states of today, rather than decreasing under the influence of modernisation, as so many had expected.

It has been the purpose of this chapter to explore the inter-relationship between political development and ethnicity and to look at the main devices used by decision-makers to meet the problems of a multi-ethnic society in the context of political change. These structural devices appear to have been seen either in the context of the political status quo, that is institutionalising a distribution already existing at independence, or, at the other end of the continuum, attempting to superimpose the image of a New Man, a national of the state, and thereby over-ride ethnic divisions. The major impetus for both approaches has come from perceived economic and security requirements, viewed within a structural framework. The

result has been a zero-sum approach to the problems of multi-ethnic societies. What is good for society becomes what is good for the majority or the most powerful interest group and is thereby seen as operating against the interest of the minority. Decision-making is then firmly embedded in a power, law and order, model. A shift in paradigm opens the possibility of considering all possible behavioural responses with a view to resolving by maximising on such development 'goods' as security, identity, recognition, etc. Their 'availability' is then increased through increased experience.

This suggests that a re-assessment using the individual as the unit of analysis leads towards a positive evaluation of the role of ethnicity and the linking of that evaluation with educational development is most timely. In the classroom and the school the experience necessary to building up these development 'goods' can be provided.

Political development was presented in Chapter 1 as being a function of learning. In Chapter 2, education for development was presented as an integrative totality of learning experiences. In Chapter 3, a model of political development with the three parameters, participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability was offered as an effective tool for making decisions about the contributions to development of the individual's experience. Now it has been shown that ethnicity can make its own demands in terms of the developmental parameters and that the developmental needs which ethnicity attempts to meet should be acknowledged in the learning experiences of the individual. Ethnic groups increase participation, and social mobilisation and decrease vulnerability. That is, in terms of the model, ethnicity can be a contributor to political development. It is a necessary condition for political development, therefore, that the implications of ethnicity be considered when assessing the behaviour, attitudes and values found within the school. In reviewing the use of the history curriculum as an instrument for political and social education in Canada, Manzer found that the English and French textbooks produced

"different interpretations of critical periods, different assessments of historical figures, and different lists of recommended values." (1976 : 22).

Here is an example where, failing to take account of the ethnic impact of certain aspects of education, leads to conflicting messages for

political development - conflicting between ethnic groups and between those groups and national policy.

The need is to

"create and respond to new patterns and models of individual development, without which the orientation to social and economic goals will continue to generate social discontent and individual frustration."
(Emmerij, 1974 : 149).

The inter-relationship between economic and political change is seen as being at the root of modernisation and it will be this that will be considered, both in social and individual terms, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MODERNISATION

In the historical review that was given in Chapter 1 of the changing notion of development, attention was drawn to the confusion surrounding the concept of modernisation. However, it held a central role in the developmental literature during the nineteen fifties and sixties. In his Introduction to a collection of essays on this theme, Weiner wrote,

"Each of the social science disciplines had focused on different elements of the modernisation process ... None of these interpretations leads us very far toward a generic definition of modernity." (Weiner, 1966 : 3).

Some authors, while claiming to be discussing modernisation, in fact deal with some other notion. For example, Smelser wrote,

"The term 'modernisation' - a conceptual cousin of the term 'economic development', but more comprehensive in scope - refers to the fact that technical, economic, and ecological changes ramify through the whole social and cultural fabric." (Smelser, 1966 : 111).

However, the discussion which followed dealt solely with the impact of economic development. Similarly, although McClelland asked

"What impulse produced economic growth and modernisation?",

his conclusion was solely in terms of economic growth.

Reference was made in Chapter 1 to the more recent work of Smith (1973), and his attempt to distinguish between modernisation and development by drawing attention to the distinctively modern application of science and technology to social problems. He pointed

"to a new relationship between knowledge and activity, the grounding of the latter on effective cognition based on observation, experiment, and induction organised into a systemic corpus of knowledge ... What is important ... for modernisation is the application of this new type of knowledge to practical affairs, and the range of technical possibilities which it opens up." (Smith, 1973 : 93).

Such an approach to modernisation immediately raises questions

regarding the relationship between education, modernity and development. In a thorough review of the research relating these three notions, Holsinger and Theisen referred once again to the

"prevailing confusion over the interchangeability of the terms 'modernity' (more specifically 'the modern man') and 'national development'. We do not see the terms as synonymous descriptions of the same process or phenomena, although we believe that the two are highly interrelated." (1977 : 328).

Shils has pointed out that

"the leaders of both old and new states feel a pressing need to espouse policies that will modernise their nations ... to be modern means to be dynamic, ... democratic and egalitarian, scientific, economically advanced, sovereign and influential Modernity demands universal public education and equality of access to opportunities ... To be modern is to be scientific ... progress rests on rational technology, and ultimately on scientific knowledge ... the promotion of scientific research and the utilisation of its results for the common good. Education is commonly regarded as one way of diffusing the scientific outlook among the new generation, of breaking the hold of traditional beliefs and of the traditional privileges associated with them." (1975 : 484/5).

Any discussion of political development cannot avoid the concept of modernisation, especially where the interface between education and political development is being considered. Modernisation, in the context of development and education can be described as a process of social change and, in particular, as the application of scientific and technological knowledge, attitudes and procedures. These changes apply at both the social and the individual level; the former will be discussed in terms of the provision of organisational and physical structures which rely upon scientific and technological knowledge and procedures; the latter in terms of the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of individuals. It is already clear that the implementation of a modernising philosophy will be closely related to the educational system but this theme will be further developed in the next chapter. First Modernisation as a process of social change will be discussed first from a societal, and then an individual point of view.

The modernisation of society

In considering the structural process of social change, brought about by the impact of scientific knowledge and technology, the distinction between science and technology is an important one since

"it is the science, rather than the technology, that is at odds with the traditional belief system." (Ingle & Turner, 1971 : vi).

Technology is used here in the sense that Galbraith defined of

"the systematic application of scientific and other organised knowledge to practical tasks." (1967 : 12).

The implications of a structural process of change are that the observable relationships between roles and functions in a society are altered in such a profound way as to cause the change to be irreversible in that new roles and functions are institutionalised.

"To the extent that we believe that technological change is not so much driven by autonomous scientific discoveries and inventions as by the changing awareness of human and social needs, a taxonomy of technological events may be started by exploring some kind of 'normative' framework whereby evolving social needs can be related to possibilities." (OECD, 1974 : 67).

Under these changing conditions, the relationships within society are re-ordered and rights and responsibilities are distributed according to a new set of criteria. Epstein makes a similar distinction

"between change in which basic elements of the society alter and change in which social action ... does not alter the basic forms." (1962 : 312).

She refers to the former as "structural change". Such a means to social change might result from the building of a new road from a formerly isolated village to the state capital. In *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Lerner (1958) had documented just such a case in Turkey, where, indeed, structural social change ensued. The building of a new road does not necessarily lead to structural social change although it will have some impact on the social relationships of those affected by it. For the change to be structural, the opportunities afforded by the new road, and the predispositions of

those affected by it, must be such as to change the living patterns, the distribution of wealth and power, and hence the roles and responsibilities.

"In the preceding analysis of the elements of structural change in Wangala and Dalena I have argued that economic development need not necessarily produce economic change. Only where the new economic system was incompatible with features of traditional economic organisation did we find a change in economic roles and relations. But wherever there was such economic change we also found corresponding changes in political and ritual roles and relations as well as in the principles of social organisation." (Epstein, 1962 : 334).

"This emphasizes the importance of examining closely the technical and operational requirements of a new techno-economic system in order to identify how far it is compatible with existing modes of social organisation, ecological circumstances, and cultural priorities. Some types of new technology and commercial production tend to have more immediate and radical effects on production and consumption activities and, over a longer time-span, lead to substantial modification in the social structure and normative system. Depending on the situation it can produce more specialised forms of labour, a differentiation between cash-crop as against subsistence spheres, a separation of production from consumption units, and changes in family and social organisation generally. But these changes are not automatic and not always immediate." (Long, 1977 : 20).

If the same technical innovation, such as a road, can have a modernising effect in one situation and not in another, what are the factors that cause the difference? The definition of modernisation indicates that both social and individual factors are involved, and that these, in turn are dependent upon procedural and attitudinal changes. Changes in attitudes relate to the modernisation of the individual and will be dealt with separately. But changes in procedures are at the heart of the modernisation process. Science and technology can be exported from one state to another, or indeed, developed in a state in a context which is relevant or irrelevant to its needs. Symbols of modernity are not themselves necessarily good indicators of the modernisation process at work. Certainly large and imposing buildings can be built in the state capital, airlines can fly international routes,

expensive and complex medical equipment can be installed in hospitals. These are symbols of national prestige rather than symbols of a modernising nation. For modernisation, the scientific and technical knowledge must be appropriate to the conditions and levels of development of the state. However, what is appropriate?

"In its most normally used sense ... the expression 'appropriate' has empirical content only by reference to criteria or objectives which themselves must be specified in empirical terms." (OECD, 1974 : 22).

The application of an appropriate technology is as much to do with procedures as it is to do with knowledge.

"The notion of 'appropriate' choices of technology ... implies a pluralistic approach to planning. That is, it becomes essential to identify sectors and activities where so-called 'appropriate' or intermediate technologies best ally the need for higher productivity with equally important needs to provide employment, to utilize local materials, to associate a poor populace with its own development, to conserve depletable natural resources, and to reduce dependence on foreign currency ... the wise course is to employ the entire gamut of instruments ranging from improved traditional technologies to others which are modern but small-scale, labor-creative, and indigenously developed; to others which are second-generation or 'obsolete' technologies imported from developed countries; to still others which are the most modern of all; and perhaps even to others which do not exist anywhere yet but which must be developed to suit special needs." (Goulet, 1977 : 80/81).

The message which is conveyed in all the studies quoted is of the central function in modernisation of contextual analysis in which decision making and processes of change are significant features. This recalls the definition of political development in Chapter 1 as well as the discussion linking political development to education in Chapter 2. In particular, the model presented in Chapter 3 is again a useful tool to apply to this analysis. The concepts which have been underlined in the preceding discussion, such as changes in roles and relations (Epstein), in social and familial organisation (Long), in appropriateness of technology (Goulet) are all affected by the degree of social mobilisation in the society. In the context of the modernisation of society, therefore, that particular parameter of the model can be seen to be central to the analysis. This indicates both an intersection between modernisation and political development (similar to that found between ethnicity and political development) and more importantly, an

area where education can have an impact.

The procedures of scientific enquiry are, essentially, the procedures of problem solving in an area of applied science. The problem must be placed in its context, and that context analysed for the components which have a bearing on the problem. Hypotheses are constructed, data identified, collected, processed and analysed, new conjectures formulated and tested. (See Popper, 1959). Methods such as modelling and piloting are used. The outcome which is being sought is the best-fit to the conditions and data. The application of such procedures will frequently favour the simpler outcome, and should generate one which is appropriate to the context and input. What is being suggested here is, then, a distinction between contextual modernisation, that is modernisation which impinges on the life-styles, roles and responsibilities of all members of the society, and the trappings of a modernised society which are, too often, laid like a gloss upon a state many of whose citizens are untouched by the modernisation process. This distinction is at the heart of the writing of many analysts of the developmental process. Stewart makes the point.

"The producers of machinery in the developed countries persistently continue to expand production of increasingly inappropriate technology for LDCs ... each year technology becomes more capital intensive and more sophisticated and the gap gets wider between the needs of the developing countries and what is being provided by the developed countries." (OECD, 1974 : 117).

(See also Frank, 1969, Goulet, 1977). In particular these analysts are concerned with the extent to which modern industrial techniques are introduced into some states increasing an unemployment problem and producing goods which are inappropriate to the needs of the majority. These industries are not labour-intensive and their products and the profits from them help to maintain a structure of society which is least conducive to modernisation.

"They exacerbate the problems of the dual society and rural/urban imbalance, they eliminate traditional activities, they put the poor country in a position of dependence on the aid givers, and above all, they fail to create jobs." (Latham-Koenig, 1974 : 171).

Most importantly, it is not only economic development which is the aim of the modernisation process. Social, cultural, political and

personal changes together support such changes in the structure of society which can use economic development to the greatest advantage of the state as a whole. (See Shils, 1975). These are the changes to which the model of political development draws attention. They are equally changes which can be affected by the educational process.

Solutions, then, which appear satisfactory in one environment cannot automatically be assumed to be satisfactory in another environment. Where there is a large labour force, and little mechanisation, the appropriate procedure for the construction of buildings, for example, might well indicate the utilisation of labour and simple hand operated tools, rather than expensive, imported earth-moving machinery. The modern procedure lies in the analysis of the problem and the searching for an approach to the problem which maximises benefits and minimises costs. This is very different from Bernstein's description of modernity as being

"non-problematic as it is already 'given' by the historical development of the West." (1979 : 83).

Mazrui defines modernity

"according to these three basic principles of responsiveness to the highest levels of knowledge, encouragement of innovation, and enlargement of social sympathies." (1979 : 744).

A technologically appropriate response which is consistent with social objectives becomes the modern result of such problem analysis. So, for example, agricultural techniques which are relevant to a temperate climate, such as the intensive rearing of beef in the U.K. with the consequent high consumption of manufactured concentrates for feeding, are not relevant at all in tropical areas where there is continuous growth all the year round.

"Much of Western agricultural technology was developed in response to a basic shortage of manpower in relation to land. In the countries of Asia and Africa, the opposite problem exists, and therefore quite different technological innovations are necessary." (Pye, 1966 : 341).

Modernisation is dependent upon changes in the major sectors of society. The impact of educational practices toward modernisation can be detected on such sectors as communications, and administration, through the particular institutions, roles and behaviours by which

scientific and technical knowledge, attitudes and procedures are enacted.

The communication sector has two components, the physical network which allows movement of goods and services, along roads, rails or rivers, and the communication network which facilitates the movement of information and ideas, through, for example, the media. The institutional framework for the latter is provided by the media, the post, telegraph and telephone system. The modernisation of the communication sector can be effected through technical improvements in transport and the movement of information. It has been shown by references above that the building of new roads or railway lines can result in modernisation. Clearly, also, technical knowledge is involved in the establishment and development of newspapers, radio or television and in the growth of telecommunications. But it is in the manner in which the media, in particular, is used that technical and scientific procedures can become relevant to modernisation. The existence of newspapers, for example, can be merely a symbol of modernisation in the same way as a new monument or international airline. However, newspapers can be used as part of a campaign for literacy. In discussing the role of the press in the emergence of the 19th. century Chartist movement in England, Johnson said,

"The political importance of the press was closely linked to its versatility as an educational form. It was a resource that could be used with great flexibility. It could be carefully studied and pondered over ... it could be read aloud ... it reached its 'pupils' at different levels of literacy and preparedness for study." (1979 : 83).

In Israel, columns of varying difficulty in vocabulary and expression have been incorporated into newspapers. In Uganda, a monthly magazine with agricultural content was most successful tackling both the literacy levels and the interests of the farming community. (Burton, 1969). With limited resources for the media, the first questions to be asked relate to relevance of content, possibilities of distribution, accessibility of audience. Possibly the planning of radio and newspaper production together, instead of separately as is so often the case, would meet the needs for information distribution more effectively. In every case, the development of a new technical resource should be able to depend upon the availability of appropriate

back-up resources, physical, but especially human. In India, for example, where a satellite has been used to enable television to be transmitted across a wide area and a television set has been installed in each village that can receive the transmission, repair facilities for a malfunctioning set are summoned by postcard but the post is not collected or distributed in a reliable and regular way. If the communications sector is to perform a modernising function, it must not only have available technical facilities and know-how but both these facilities and the content of the information being communicated must be appropriate and relevant to the audience and relate to their needs and interests. A modernising communications network will play an important role in political development and in education, but only insofar as it accepts and, indeed, encourages the increasing participation and social mobilisation and decreasing vulnerability of those who use it. In this way modernisation and political development will be mutually interactive.

Similarly, what happens on the farm, that is in the agrarian sector, is for many countries, especially poorer countries, at the centre of their modernisation difficulties. Indeed some analysts maintain that effecting modernisation of the rural sector is the vital variable in generating economic development. Again it is not just a question of introducing technical skills and knowledge or bringing in farm machinery but of changing the attitude and consequently, the behaviour of individual farmers and farming communities. Out of the present knowledge and experience of farmers must be developed meaningful procedures which are available to be used and for whom the use is obviously beneficial and possible. In that way, the modernisation of the agrarian sector will inevitably become the modernisation of the community which is predominantly agrarian. Inkeles reports on the impact on individual modernisation of agricultural cooperatives in East Pakistan and Israel. (See also Rahim, S.A., Co-operatives and Agricultural Development in Bangladesh in Nash, Dandler and Hopkins, 1976). In particular, he draws attention to the organisation setting, the emphasis on self-help and the models of alternative methods provided by the cooperative. New principles of social organisation and interpersonal relations may be introduced by the cooperative which

may be as modernising in their effects as such introductions in the industrial setting. (1974 : Chapter 13). Soedjatmoko has drawn attention to this same phenomenon.

"Cooperative enterprises ... constitute a jumping-off point and an intermediate step towards modern economic activity which is sufficiently close to the atmosphere of our traditional ways of life and at the same time capable of being used as a basis to build up our economic strength and of creating forms of larger scale economic activities ... The establishment of a cooperative in a village means the introduction of specific techniques of organisation ... The setting up of a cooperative will inevitably lead not only to a change in the social relations in the village but also to a change in the hitherto prevailing customs and institutions ... In any case it is quite clear that the success or failure of a village cooperative depends not only on the ability of the leaders and members to conduct the enterprise but on social and cultural changes as well which are directly or indirectly related to the functioning of the cooperative. Therefore, the establishment of a cooperative in a village is and should be accompanied by various changes in other spheres of village life." (1958 : 4/5).

Nash, Dandler and Hopkins explored the experience of different countries with co-operatives and showed that their introduction need not necessarily lead to modern effects. However, whatever the purpose of sponsoring co-operatives, they pointed out that they do appear to lead to

"side effects such as spread of knowledge and politicization." (1976 : 7).

The education sector is to form the substance of the next chapter. It is the main thesis here that education is a crucial factor in changing attitudes and developing procedural and technical knowledge. However, what is also clear from the above, is the artificiality of dividing one sector from another and assuming no interaction. While it is clear that the education sector impinges upon all others, it is

equally clear that each relies upon the other to a greater or lesser extent. Modernisation cannot take place in one without affecting another, and perhaps what is required are changes in procedures in the first instance with modernisation being regarded as an outcome.

However, that modernisation is distinctively different from development is now clear. Modernisation has as its aim the growth of a technically competent society, one whose citizens can make use of the knowledge and procedures that science and technology have made available in order to affect their life styles and the organisation of their living. This does not assume the introduction of a break-point below which is un- or under-developed and above which is developed, or of another dividing traditional from modern. There is, indeed, in the notion of modernisation no assumption about standards of living or degrees of development. Modernisation is measured by changes in attitudes and methods of approach to the problems of organising and meeting the needs of the community, and hence can apply to the simplest as well as to the most complex of societies. Modernisation is the process by which the community changes and adapts to its roles and responsibilities in the light of technical or scientific innovation, not the innovations themselves. Investment in resources for economic development cannot automatically assume that such changes will take place. It is for this reason that so much economic development founders upon the lack of social and human modernisation.

The Modernisation of the Individual

Discussion of the modernisation of society cannot be dissociated from consideration of the modernisation of the individual.

"There is the need to affect the attitudes, calculations and expectations of a significant part of the population if there is to be impressive change."
(Pye, 1966 : 341).

According to the definition of modernisation proposed above, modern individuals are those who accept and utilise scientific and technical knowledge, attitude and procedures. In the course of doing this, they are involved in and might well promote the process of social change

which is called modernisation. They will be people who are open to information, readier to question and experiment and consequently less dependent upon traditional explanations in the absence of tested experiences. They will have expectations that there are rational connections between associated events even if they do not know what these connections are, and they will look to certain sources, such as the media, and education, to provide the appropriate information. They will see the logic of lightening labour, where possible, in order to release energies for the solution of problems and hence will utilise functional cooperation and a wider view of social organisation to implement system cooperation as well as individual. Above all, they will see themselves as having the ability to think, feel and possibly do something about their world, rather than being objects of manipulation by forces outside their understanding. In these senses, a modern individual could exist at any point in history and, equally, it is possible to find those today who are not modern.

"The modern outlook ... is based on the realisation that the conquest of nature by man is possible and that it constitutes a legitimate purpose in life. With this attitude man is no longer an integral part of nature but a being apart from it and as such begins to investigate nature, and, in so beginning, to dominate natural forces ... This urge to understand nature and to know its laws for the sake of knowledge itself is in fact nothing other than the scientific attitude. The scientific attitude endeavours to perceive nature as a coordinated whole of which a full knowledge and understanding can be gradually acquired and organised in a logical theory, the elements of which are interrelated to each other in a consistent fashion. This attitude constantly endeavours to objectivise its conclusions and to re-examine them in the light of new findings; and when necessary established theories are revised. Thus, the crux of scientific attitudes is the spirit of continual renewal." (Soedjatmoko, 1958 : 9).

One of the most interesting studies to have been done on the modernisation of the individual is that of Inkeles and his associates, reported in *Becoming Modern*. (Inkeles & Smith, 1974). Inkeles was concerned with a socio-psychological approach to modernisation.

"The modern is defined as a mode of individual functioning, a set of dispositions to act in certain ways." (Ibid : 16).

Inkeles developed an inventory of themes which would be reflected, he felt, in the attitudes, values and behaviour of a model modern man. The themes were selected in three ways. First an analysis and classification was done of those personal qualities most likely to be found in efficient and effective factory workers. They included such qualities as efficacy, that is the degree to which individuals feel able to affect their environment, their ability to meet and overcome challenges, their openness to new experiences, their evaluation of technical skill and their recognition of the dignity of others. The factory was chosen as a modernising institution of one of the major sectors of society, and one which is, to a large extent, cross-cultural.

"The organisation of the factory and its mode of functioning embodies a series of fundamental principles to which men from a traditional background would respond favourably. We anticipated that rather than responding with confusion or reacting defensively traditional men would be open to the lessons the factory had to teach, incorporating and adopting as their own standard the norms embedded in modern factory organisation. This learning, we believed, would come about through the same processes of socialisation identified by us earlier as the basis for learning modern attitudes and values in the school, namely, modelling, generalisation, exemplification, and reward and punishment. Those processes can be observed at work across the whole range of the main themes which defined our analytic model of the modern man." (Ibid : 158).

The second method of identifying themes adopted a topic perspective, looking at the ways in which modernisation is associated with attitudes toward such topics as religion, and the family. Finally, a behavioural perspective was adopted, in order to include a measure of what men do, as well as what attitudes they hold. So, active public participation was measured by the degree of participation in politics, for example, by voting.

The final list of themes was tested empirically by in depth interviews with nine hundred cultivators, new factory workers, urban non-industrial workers and experienced factory workers across six countries, Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria and East Pakistan. Inkeles summed up,

"The definitive syndrome of individual modernity, now empirically established, included keeping informed about the world and taking an active role as a citizen; valuing education and technical skill; aspiring to advance oneself economically; stressing individual responsibility and seeing the virtues of planning, including family planning; approving social change and being open to new experience, including the experience of urban living and industrial employment; manifesting a sense of personal efficacy; freedom from absolute submission to received authority in family, tribe and sect and the development of newer non-parochial loyalties; and the concomitant granting of more autonomy and rights to those of lesser status and power, such as minority groups and women. Taken together this set of qualities empirically delineates the modern man." (Ibid : 109).

"The modern man is a cross-national, transcultural type who can be identified by our scales whatever the distinctive attitudes with which his culture may otherwise have endowed him." (Ibid : 118).

Having established a working definition of modern man, Inkeles went on to test his theory that certain institutions and experiences cause men to become more modern according to his definition. Ten independent variables were selected as measures of institutions and experiences presumed to have the capacity to modernise. These were, formal education, months of factory experience, objective skill, mass-media exposure, number of factory benefits, years of urban experience since age 15, urbanism of residence, modernity of home-school setting, father's education, consumer goods possessed. The school, mass-media, factory, agricultural cooperatives, urban non-industrial employment, urban experience, rural or urban origin and home and school background were each examined for their impact on modernisation.

The conclusions were:

"Of the early experience in life, only education was a highly important key to individual modernity. Indeed, standing alone it was by far the single most important determinant of a man's modernity ... Men of rural origin who stayed in the countryside to farm as their fathers had done were most likely to be frozen at the level of modernity which characterised them when they left school ... Yet

it does not follow automatically that a man must have limited horizons merely because he is engaged in agricultural pursuits ... This was made dramatically evident in the case of those few men who had the good fortune to be enrolled in a vigorous new form of social and economic organisation such as the Comilla cooperative movement in East Pakistan ... The average farmer ('s) ... chief opportunity for becoming more modern ... lay in maximising his contact with the media of mass communication ... As for the men of urban origin, spending their formative years in town ... raised in urban areas were more likely to have more years of schooling ... Both of these factors ... contributed to the probability that the urban-origin men would have a fairly high level of modernity at the time they entered the factory. Nevertheless, urban-origin men ... showed an appreciable increase in modernity, year by year, as a result of their work in industry ... The greatest change in individual modernity was experienced by the men who left the countryside and associated agricultural pursuits to take up work in industry." (Ibid : 285/6).

Finally, in summary, Inkeles concluded,

"The modern man's character, as it emerges from our study, may be summed up under four major headings. He is an informed participant citizen; he has a marked sense of personal efficacy; he is highly independent and autonomous in his relations to traditional sources of influence especially when he is making basic decisions about how to conduct his personal affairs; and he is ready for new experiences and ideas, that is, he is relatively open-minded and cognitively flexible." (Ibid : 290).

The strongest influence on the modernisation of man was shown in this study to be his schooling but the nature of the schooling was less important than the number of years of exposure. This leads one to suspect that there is something in the organisation of the school and in the experience of school itself which is more important to the modernising procedure than the quality of teaching or, possibly, the content of the manifest curriculum. Inkeles stated:

"We believe that the answer lies mainly in the distinctive nature of the school as a social organisation, something which has little to do with the curriculum as such. In our view, the school is not only a place for teaching, it is, inevitably, a setting for the more general

socialisation of the child. The school modernises through a number of processes other than formal instruction in academic subjects. These are: reward and punishment, modelling, exemplification and generalisation." (Ibid : 140).

This recalls the discussion of the hidden curriculum and underlines, again, the educational impact which is possible on modernisation even where it has not been foreseen or part of educational planning. After the school, the next two strong influences on modernisation were the mass-media and work experience, but again it was quantity of contact rather than quality which appeared to be important. This could have been because no means of identifying and measuring quality has been established and, as a consequence, the only form of measure which was available to the researchers was a quantitative one. On the other hand, it could again be highlighting, for example, the procedures of communication and organisation which are more and more effective, the longer the exposure and use. In an article in *Stability and Social Change*, Inkeles challenged the work of Erikson and McClelland in part for attempting to explain social change by reference to changes which have already taken place in the individual psyche. (Inkeles, 1971 : 265/281). However, he could not explain the cause of institutional change, that is, why differences exist in levels of institutional modernisation in different states. Nor could he say that the presence of a greater number of individuals with increased modernisation in a society would accelerate the modernisation of that society, although that was his assumption. He stated,

"We affirm that our research has produced ample evidence that the attitude and value changes defining individual modernity are accompanied by changes in behaviour precisely of the sort which we believe give meaning to, and support, those changes in political and economic institutions which lead to the modernisation of nations ... We believe a change in attitudes and values to be one of the most essential preconditions for substantial and effective functioning of those modern institutions which most of the more 'practical' programmes of development hope to establish ... Diffusion through the population of the qualities of the modern man is not incidental to the process of social development, it is the essence of national development itself. (1974 : 313/6).

Inkeles work, substantiated by others in this field of research,

provides a list of qualities, together with institutions, experience of which accelerates individual modernisation. The institution which was most effective in this respect was the school. The most noticeable and important indicator to emerge from the analysis was that, from a point of view of modernisation, it was not the calibre of staff, nor the quality of resources, nor the content of the curriculum which were the vital factors. In the next Chapter, the role of the school will be examined for the influence it can and might exert on political development and modernisation.

"Now we turn to those media which we must employ to introduce the far-reaching changes that accompany economic development. These media are the schools and other education institutions, the political parties, trade unions, and peasant organisations, the mass-media of communications, and the entire state administrative apparatus. In the elementary schools, efforts must be directed toward the development and the modelling of new attitudes whereby the child will be brought to see his environment not as a fixed and immutable order of things but as a pattern that can be rearranged and improved. The child must not be given the conviction that he can better the conditions of this environment by a subsequent contribution to the increase of production. It is also essential that school children be made familiar with the use of simple but modern technical devices." (Soedjatmoko, 1958 : 19).

Modernisation and Political Development

The attempt has been made thus far to relate two concepts in the literature, political development and modernisation. Both have been the source of much confusion, theoretically and in terms of practical policy implementation. Underlying most of the work in this area is the assumption that the newly independent countries have

"elites committed to modernising their societies and economies." (Weiner, 1966 : 1),

and that the disappointments and failures in implementing this intention are the result of other factors, such as resource inadequacy, inability to explain the relationships between important sectors so that decision-making is hampered, poor advice, and so on. Smythe and Smythe assert that

"in any independent nation the direction and speed

of development depend in a significant measure upon the people who establish the policy and who exert leadership." (1960 : 171).

Increasing attention is being drawn to the complex interaction of social and personal phenomena for the successful implementation of governmental policies, and, furthermore, to a persistent failure to comprehend the gap between models of structures and the way in which people use those structures in the real world. (See Pieris, 1969; Emmerij, 1974; Epstein, 1973). Decision-makers, in particular, are led into the trap of believing that their role, and the power and influence implicit in it, is theirs of right. Shils refers to

"an unarticulated political metaphysic, from a conception of the nation as a metaphysical essence which finds its purest manifestation in those ... in the positions of authoritative responsibility." (1975 : 430).

and Shils quotes W. A. Lewis (1965),

"A struggle for independence is highly emotional... The men who thrust themselves forward ... feel that they are Heaven-sent, and that anyone who stands in their way is a traitor to Heaven's cause."

Policies are then justified merely by the 'correctness' of having been made since, in such a position of authority, if a decision is taken it is, by definition, the 'right' decision. When events do not seem to bear out this assertion, the tendency is to become more rigid, and exert more power, in the implementation of the policy and consequently, eventually, to create more and more civil resistance to it. Many examples of this process can be found in the relations between colonial governments and pre-independence movements. More and more stringent attempts to control, or even repress, some of these movements led to the imprisonment of their leaders and greater civil turmoil. In addition, policy decisions are often made in the absence of hard data. There are other reasons for policy decisions being inappropriate to the overall needs of the state in which they are taken, and some of these might relate to the nature of the governing machine, the interests it must serve, and the need by elites to ensure their role perpetuation. Shils identifies

"experience, passion and the necessities of collective pride, individual dignity, and vanity,

and the colonial situation as being the generators of the patterns of thought which lead to inconsistent policy decisions." (1975 : 431).

Assertions committing decision-makers, therefore, to modernisation and development, are not necessarily reinforced by policies which attempt to ensure these changes. It is for research to attempt to fill the gaps in understanding of the processes so that decisions can be the result of more precise information. Where this information would appear to lead to policies which apparently undermine, rather than maintain, the self-sustaining role of the decision-maker, there is even greater need for clarity of presentation. This is particularly so of the implications of decisions to use, or not to use, such information. In the present case, the argument developed so far rests on the following assumptions. Not only do decision-makers assert their support of policies for modernisation and development, but many endeavour to promote their authority by developing expectations in their citizens of the positive outcomes of these policies. Failure to meet these expectations leads to more insistent demands. Continued failure, often accompanied by the imposition of authority, can lead to civil unrest. In these conditions, there often appears to be no alternative to coercion especially when self-interest dictates the maintenance of role authority. Political development and modernisation as defined and discussed above, are dependent upon an increasingly aware, responsible, flexible and participatory citizenry. This can appear to be contrary to the maintenance of some authority roles. How, then, can there be expectations that the policies which would encourage the growth of a politically developed and modern state will, in fact, be implemented? First, decision-makers need to be convinced by the weight of argument that there is more likelihood of these policies proving effective and helping to meet their own objectives. Second, these changes are part of social processes which are stimulated by human needs and may be observable even where policies are not actively encouraging them. Indeed Burns (1977) asserted that the sources of political leadership are to be found in wants, needs, aspirations and expectations. This is borne out by the research of Inkeles and Lerner amongst many others.

"Education emerges as a very important, if not the most important, factor in political selection, recruitment, and training ... the quantity and

quality of an individual's education ...
determines to a considerable degree his/her
ascendancy into elite positions." (Massialas, 1977 : 290).

New generations of decision-makers will therefore be part of this adaptive framework and, themselves, will develop many of the attitudes which have been described as fundamental. With every incremental change, the possibilities are created for much more extensive change in the longer term. In particular, what has become clear is that the processes of political development are part of individual development, and are experienced in an educational setting. In Chapter 6 the functional or dysfunctional aspects of this experience will be discussed.

One assertion which is persistently found throughout the literature and is certainly part of the common lore is that modernised nations are integrated nations, and that integrated nations are modernised nations. Further, education has been seen by some as performing an important integrative function. (Coleman, 1965). This assumption has therefore had an important effect on policy making, especially in newly-independent states. Shils points out that

"the problems of the integration of society are most acutely felt by the rulers of the new states of Asia and Africa." (1975 : 89).

C. A. Anderson outlines the assumptions of modernisation as being technological and economic progress, unification of a nation state, and co-ordination of administration. (Anderson 1966 : 869, my italics). C. E. Black defines four phases of modernisation, the challenge of modernity, the consolidation of modernising leadership, economic and social transformation and the integration of society. (Black 1971 : 436 my italics). The fourth phase, the integration of society, is explained by Black as

"the phase in which economic and social transformation produces a fundamental reorganisation of the social structure throughout the society."
(Ibid : 436).

The economic and social transformation to which he refers is characterised by

"the development of a society to the point at which it is predominantly urban and the focus of mobilisation of the great majority of the population is toward the society as a whole

rather than toward local communities and specialised groups." (Ibid : 441).

Black is one of those theorists who portray modernisation as the progress of a society along the continuum from traditional/agrarian/particularist to mass consumption/urban/universalist. Urbanisation is, for him, the major factor and his suggested index for measuring integration is

"the proportion of population engaged in manufacturing and services as distinct from agriculture and other forms of primary production." (Ibid : 444).

An integrated society, then, is a society with a large proportion of the population engaged in manufacturing and services, highly urbanised and, further, with a political power structure where personal power has become institutionalised through bureaucracy and power is thus shared. Black further states that the integration of different religious, social or ethnic groups is one aspect of the general integration process as he describes it.

This analysis can be challenged on many points. The unsatisfactory nature of viewing modernisation as a unidimensional continuum has already been mentioned. Further, there is no evidence that urbanisation and industrialisation are necessarily contiguous as Black's suggested index would imply, nor even, if they were, that they are the critical variables by which modernisation can be measured. Indeed, in the case of urbanisation this is particularly doubtful. Black refers to economic and social transformation but then appears to equate them with industrialisation and urbanisation. It has already been shown that modernisation is a very much broader phenomenon than this would indicate. Indeed, the kinds of structural integrative changes to which Black is alluding are dependent upon a much wider spectrum of social influences. Black, for example, quotes the United States as an example of a state which is already in the phase of integration. It is hard to fit with this his statement regarding the institutionalisation of personal power and his own acknowledgement of

"the slow pace of racial integration in the United States." (Ibid : 447).

nor with the implications of Rosenbaum's study, *Making Inequality* (1976). It would seem that Black has run into a confusion of usages of the term

integration. In the one sense, he is applying the term to an economic and administrative process which is functional and organisational. But he is also applying the term to human relationships and consequently to attitudes. He appears to assume that the creation of the apparatus which allows a state to be administered and governed can be equated with "nation-building", that is the development of attitudes of identification and responsibility in the citizens of the state. Further, such identification appears to be dependent upon the reduction of differences between groups. There is no evidence to support these assumptions. Indeed, in the discussion on ethnicity, above, it was shown that uniformity is not necessarily the best response to the problems of a multi-ethnic society. . Certainly, there are examples, such as Switzerland, of states which have successfully modernised and achieved a high index, in Black's terms, of integration but whose administrative structures and cultural groupings have institutionalised diversity. Despite this institutionalisation, the Swiss are finding it difficult to integrate more recent immigrants. Indeed Shils suggests that

"social and political philosophers have been preoccupied with the integration of society"

but that

"they only imply the desirability of such a total integration by contrast with what they think they see around them as the total unintegratedness of contemporary Western societies." (1975 : 89).

The notion of integration stems from the assumption that certain structures are necessary to social organisation. Conformity and shared values became a prerequisite of 'integrated' states whether they were achieved by coercion, socialisation, ethnic or other influences. The referent world appears to be challenging these assumptions and calling for a reassessment of the human needs which are an inherent part of the social and political process. Under this reassessment 'integration' becomes a redundant concept.

There are two distinct processes both affected by political development and education. The first is state-building, or the creation and implementation of the machinery to administer; this is a functional process and important parts of the modernisation programme might well depend upon its coherent organisation. In this sense, both

Switzerland and the United States are integrated. Applying the model, both states exhibit high social mobilisation, satisfactory participation and vulnerability levels from a macro view. The second process is nation-building, a much more hazardous procedure dependent upon attitudes and behaviour which might be expected to develop through the experience of functional arrangements over a long period of time. Since nation-building is dependent upon individual attitudes and behaviours, the model indicates that sub-groups and individuals must also evidence satisfactory participation, social mobilisation and low vulnerability for nation-building to be as successful as state-building. Perhaps this need to shift from the macro to the micro level of analysis helps to explain why many

"authors conclude with a very pessimistic note about the potential contributions of formal education to the building of modern nations ... most of the research in this area operates under ... macro theory. Consequently, the political outcomes of education, e.g. efficacy, leadership, and national identity, are viewed only in terms of the entire system - the individual or the small group or community is consistently neglected ... for the individual, acceptance of diversity means more options; for the society, it means a wider basis of decision making and resource allocation." (Massialas, 1977 : 292/3).

Unfortunately, newly established states do not have the time and yet appear to need, or express a desire for, national identification. As discussed in the previous chapter, policies are expounded on this issue, sometimes pressing in the direction of one nation, or assimilation, sometimes allowing for diversity under the umbrella of the nation-state, and sometimes a combination of these. These policies then affect decisions involving regions, tribes or different linguistic groups, whether in the context of education, investment, or some other crucial area. If the distinction between state and nation-building could be more clearly drawn, the educational implications would be clearer. State needs indicate factors related to social mobilisation. Nation-building draws upon factors of participation and vulnerability.

It will be the purpose of the next Chapter to apply the foregoing analysis to the educational system and to investigate the interaction between modernisation and political development and educational structures and organisation. Ethnic diversity will be taken as a given in the

situation, and consequently structures and organisation will have to encompass it rather than attempt to change it. This is not to argue that, in the long term, such diversity might not diminish, nor to place a value judgment on its presence or absence; the assumption is that any changes that take place will reflect the needs, beliefs and attitudes of those involved and these change slowly with time.

Attitudes towards large and small scale, uniformity and diversity, and many of the other implicit components of 'integration' are dependent upon values and values change with experience and knowledge. In any society, certain values will be so institutionalised that they will inevitably affect decisions and the way they are implemented. These values which are shared are a strength to the state. It is the attempt to create policies based on imposed new values which have not evolved out of the shared experience of the members of the society which can lead to failures. Chapter 6 therefore looks at the role of education currently and its possible role in affecting these issues of modernisation and political development.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION REVISITED

The model of political development has been used to guide and inform a discussion of two concepts, ethnicity and modernisation, which are not only relevant to development but also to education. However, the model was presented as having power to integrate a discussion of political development and education. In this Chapter, building upon the conclusion that political development is learned, and that learning is the business of educational systems, an answer will be sought to the question of the role of education for political development. Two approaches to this question can be discerned. One is the construction of curricula to teach about social issues. Faith in such curricula rests upon the assumption of transfer of training. It has already been indicated in Chapter 2, that the prognosis for successful transfer is poor. The second approach to the question of the role of education for political development relates

"the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions...to the principles of social and cultural control in a society." (Apple, 1979 : 2).

Again, the prognosis for individual enrichment is perceived as poor. The link which enables both positions to co-exist is the hidden curriculum. The reasons for this will be explored using the model of political development.

If political development is a learned phenomenon and formal educational settings are important contributors to learning, then the assumption of interdependence between political development and education should be valid. What is the nature of the interdependence? Massialas asked three questions. How do schools affect the development of political attitudes? How do schools function as agents of recruitment? How do schools contribute to the development of a modern nation? His answers were:

"Research indicates that the school ... is not as significant as other social agents ... (it) becomes significant, however, with regard to political

recruitment albeit in a fashion that to many is ideologically unacceptable, i.e. it tends to promote the perpetuation of power elites ... dealing with nation building, the research indicates that the schools tend to reinforce pre-existing social cleavages and inequalities." (1977 : 294).

Does this, then, indicate that the assumption of interdependence between political development and education is invalid? Massialas issued a warning. The theoretical frameworks which have been used in most of the studies which stress the ineffectiveness of the school in political development have been macro frameworks. As a result, they

"have colored our perception of what education does and can do for individuals, their families and communities ... (and) narrowed the scope of the research agenda, i.e. only systems-relevant questions were asked ... we need to change our conservative, theoretical framework to dynamic ones which focus on the individual and the community." (Ibid : 294/5).

Many other scholars have recently pursued this theme. For example, Mehan stated:

"researchers have not directly examined the process of education. They have examined indices of schooling ... but (not) what actually happens inside schools on a practical daily basis ... What is lacking in most discussions of the influence of schooling is a solid foundation of evidence based on examinations of the actual processes of education." (1978 : 34).

Educators have argued that there are generalised factors common to all forms of learning, that are appropriate to, and a requirement of, education in the sense of socialisation. Writing in the American Educator recently, the Directors of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and the National Humanities Faculty in Massachusetts, said,

"Values are not a separate box but are continuous across the curriculum and as much a part of all of education as they are of all of life." (Bennett and Delattre, 1979 : 9).

Aiken went further:

"It is sometimes forgotten that in addition to learning principles, facts, and methods in school, children learn attitudes, values, and appreciations there." (1972 : 229).

Until recently, the presence of such factors was usually subsumed in the hidden curriculum. The students were expected to imbibe 'the ethos' along with all their other experiences. Further, because 'the ethos' was not explicitly defined or analysed, that is, because it was embedded in the hidden curriculum, its impact was also not open to assessment or analysis. Increasing interest has been shown recently in identifying those attitudes, values and behaviours which should be learned in school. Instead of leaving the transmission of values, for example, to the messages of the hidden curriculum, which allows no discussion, investigation or clarification, educators began identifying the components which relate to human and social needs. These were built in, overtly, to a curriculum. One of the best known of these curricula developed in the United States was *Man : A Course of Study* (Hanley, 1970). Another programme, called *Values Clarification*, was implemented by Simon et al (1978). Massialas, Sprague and Hurst presented an approach which they called *Social Issues Through Inquiry* (1975b). In the United Kingdom, the Schools Council funded a *Humanities Project* (1970) and the *World Studies Project* developed *Learning for Change in World Society* (1976). One issue of the *Journal of Social Education** was devoted to reviewing a selection of teaching units which had been developed in the United States on conflict and conflict resolution. The Further Education Unit of the U.K. National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education produced a prototype for a post-16 pre-employment course which they called *A Basis for Choice* (1979). In each case, the purpose of the proposed curriculum was

"to provide the learning conditions and appropriate psychological climate in which to identify and reflectively probe the crucial issues of the time ... to identify the best possible school conditions under which the learner can become a critical prober of society's most pressing problems and can develop a predisposition to act." (Massialas et al, 1975b : xii).

These programmes in values education have been a response to the observed failure of the schools to promote political development despite a continuing assumption that education and development are positively

* Vol. 37, No. 7, November, 1973.

related. Conventional citizenship education programmes included

"moral education, history, civics, the social training of games and school hierarchies"

and excluded

"party politics, that is conflict politics."
(Whitmarsh, 1974 : 133).

Their ineffectiveness led to the attempt to identify the desirable characteristics of tomorrow's citizens, and build these into a curriculum programme. This response is not an answer to the question how does the school affect political development (if at all)? It assumes that the school ought to and will affect political development if only the curriculum is chosen wisely. Now the question has become, how can the school affect political development? And the answer is generated in whichever curriculum is presented.

In choosing the desirable characteristics to be built into a curriculum there is a surprising degree of consistency between the views of theoreticians and of political decision-makers. Tapper and Salter drew attention to

"the continuing and growing interest in formal political education, which now embraces politicians and civil servants besides academics and teachers."
(1979 : 233).

The theoretical stress of Massialas et al was on participation, interpersonal respect, efficacy and self-actualisation. (1975b). The World Studies Project highlighted

"an informed public opinion ... the knowledge and attitudes they will need as adult members of their society; ... individual self-fulfillment ... involves respecting the right of others to fulfil themselves also and understanding the main ways in which one can, and cannot, control the circumstances of one's life; ... participation in social and political change ... the skills and concepts they will require as active agents of change in their own turn." (1976 : 5).

The Humanities Project advocated the handling of value issues in the classroom, by a neutral teacher, using a discussion mode of inquiry, with the protection of divergence.*

* For a description of the implementation of this project in one classroom, see Webb, 1976).

Decision-makers have emphasised similar characteristics as necessary to the development of the character, knowledge and skills of their future citizens. President Nyerere of Tanzania stressed commitment to the community, co-operation, participation, and interpersonal respect (1968). The Kenyan Government expressed its concerns regarding the teaching of such social values as co-operation, adaptability, responsibility and national unity. (See the Report of the National Commission on Educational Objectives and Policies (1976). (The approaches to political development and education of Kenya and Tanzania will be further examined in Chapters 7 and 8, as they represent interesting examples for comparison). Not only in less developed countries is the need for these characteristics acknowledged. The Department of Education and Science in the United Kingdom recognised the work of the Politics Association in conjunction with the Hansard Society in promoting political literacy and supported it financially.* Political literacy covered

"the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to make a man or woman informed about politics; able to participate in public life and groups of all kinds ...; and to recognise and tolerate diversities of political and social values." (Crick and Porter, 1978 : 1).

International organisations, such as UNESCO, have also identified and emphasised the need for the same characteristics to be developed through educational programmes (Faure, 1972, and the 1974 Recommendation adopted by UNESCO). Such is the consistency regarding the values necessary to tomorrow's citizens. The programmes developed have converted the list of values into teaching units, thereby reflecting the continued faith of educators and decision-makers alike in the efficacy of schools as instruments which affect the political development of their pupils.

This faith does not go undisputed. While still asserting that "education is an essential precondition for development",

Hanf et al argued that

"formal education in Africa and Asia in its present

* The Programme for Political Education 1974-77 was originally funded by the Nuffield Foundation.

form ... is an obstacle to development."
(1975 : 68).

There is no inconsistency between the positions of the optimists and the pessimists. The optimistic curriculum designers are proposing new curricular forms to replace the ineffective curricula identified by the pessimistic researchers. Will the new curricula be substantially more successful in promoting the values listed? The experience of the past would suggest not - unless certain preconditions are met. The identification of these preconditions relies, in part, upon an investigation of the hidden curriculum.

The Hidden Curriculum

The contention of this study is that the impact of education on political development is achieved through a combination of different types of learning - learning through the formal curriculum together with learning through the hidden curriculum, and that

"the manifest curriculum is far less important than the hidden curriculum." (Vaizey, 1974 : 56).

Focussing on the learning of individuals demands the micro approach advocated by Massialas and others.

Learning is taken as the continual reconstruction of reality - successive attempts at moving closer to a reality construction which maps perceived experience onto understandings.

"If one takes this constructivist position in a seriously consistent manner, one comes to regard what has been called the child's socialization not as the impact of a given societal system on the child's mind and behaviour, but as the child's construction of his or her social and societal world. This construction is merely one part of the ongoing process of general development toward mature understanding." (Furth, 1978 : 229).

Such constructs are a combined function of sense data with current understanding. Understanding is itself dependent upon the combination of past experience with current levels of knowing what (content), knowing why (process) and knowing how (principle). Learning takes place, therefore, on many different levels and in many different ways for each individual even where the learning stimulus appears to be identical. For example, in a particular classroom, where one lesson is being given simultaneously to a number of children they will receive

information and experience about the content which is being presented, about the manner of the teacher, and about the reactions of their fellow pupils and each child will interpret those messages according to his own filters, both cognitively and affectively.

The curriculum is both a set of contents and a set of methods for transmitting content. Thus curriculum development can focus on changing the content of what is being conveyed in the classroom; for example the pressure in the 1960s towards discovery learning. In some cases, it attempts to do both. This was true of the introduction in the 1960s of new mathematics in the U.K. primary schools, associated with the Nuffield Mathematics Project.

The hidden curriculum contains messages about individual and social values, attitudes and behaviours. The source of these is a combination of social customs, expectations, experiences, both of the individual teacher and of the school itself.

"The crowds, the praise, and the power that combine to give a distinctive flavor to classroom life collectively form a hidden curriculum which each student must master if he is to make his way satisfactorily through the school. The demands created by these features of classroom life may be contrasted with the academic demands - the 'official' curriculum, so to speak - to which educators traditionally have paid the most attention."
(Jackson, 1968 : 33/34).

Input to the hidden curriculum fluctuates according to local conditions but the central core of the hidden curriculum is recognisable in most schools within a society, and sometimes across state boundaries. For example, it is through the hidden curriculum that schools, and consequently society, convey messages about privilege and underprivilege. It is also through the hidden curriculum that children discover how their performance is assessed in terms of their ability. Every organisation has structural conditions and regulations and these are transmitted to successive generations of users and achieve their own momentum. So, educational institutions are operating according to their own momentum of norms, needs and expectations as well as the norms of society.

The nature of the hidden curriculum is that its content has not been well-defined and articulated. For example, many well-meaning

teachers ability-group their pupils in order to provide appropriate learning experiences. However, at the same time, the pupils are receiving information as to the teacher's assessment of their abilities, information which is an important component of their developing self-image. (Hargreaves, 1972).

The hidden curriculum, is, then, a description of the means, through both content and method, by which attitudes, values and behaviours are transmitted in the formal educational setting. As Apple has pointed out,

"one form of reproduction (through the hidden curriculum) ... complements another (the formal corpus of school knowledge)." (1979 : 40).

It is only through understanding the interplay between both formal and hidden curricula that explanations can be sought for the ineffectiveness of a formal curriculum in values, or social issues, and for the social manipulation which some investigators identify as a result of a hidden curriculum.*

A disturbing aspect of the hidden curriculum is that its power to affect life chances is more frequently applied unintentionally by those who are implementing it. That is, the curriculum is hidden as much from those involved in its derivation and use, as from those experiencing its results. (Sharp and Green, 1975). Consequently, the messages it conveys might be contradictory to the articulated messages with those who are responsible for this being unaware of the contradictions and their effects.

"The manifest curriculum and hidden curriculum may work in the same direction ... but it is very possible for the school's ethos to work against its expressed intentions and this ... is most likely to occur where little or no attention has been paid to the effects of school organisation or teacher expectation on pupils' attitudes." (Wardle, 1974 : 150/1).

What are some of the obvious inconsistencies? Hanf et al (1975)

* See, for example, Rosenbaum's investigation into the social effects of streaming subtitled: "The Hidden Curriculum of High School Tracking." (1976).

listed four:

1. The institutions of education are not indigenous BUT national pride, self-reliance and independence are strongly held values.
2. Western European ideas, knowledge and skills are highly valued BUT these frequently run counter to the articulated needs and values of the locality.

Both of these problems were underlined by de Kadt.

"Foreign influence has been widespread, especially on formal school systems, and the use of educational institutions to serve the political, social and economic aims of colonial powers has been well-established. More subtle are the issues of 'auto-colonisation', not least because they cannot be divorced from the scientific and technological superiority of Western capitalist nations. Unfortunately, the issues raised by the science and technology developed in the industrial societies are, on the whole, not those at the core of the problems of most poor countries, and their methods and their techniques are often inappropriate to solve the latter. The values and orientations of advanced societies have also been transmitted to developing countries through non-formal programmes - with the result that projects have often been irrelevant and inadequate, yielding very few practical results for the people they were aimed at." (1976 : 1.457).

3. Educational systems serve an allocative function so that "access to education ... determines fundamental opportunities for life while success in formal education determines success in one's career " (Hanf, 1975 : 69) BUT expectations aroused by "acquisitive achievement" (Dore, 1976 : 179) run counter to such values as self-realisation, equality, contribution to community. Decreasing opportunities result in the frustrations of unemployed school leavers.
4. Educational systems physically and intellectually isolated from society promote formalized achievement where imitation and conformity are rewarded BUT innovation, practical applications of knowledge and creativity are more valuable.

These four inconsistencies are mainly structural although the fourth does draw attention to the learning experiences in the classroom which are an outcome of achievement orientation. Further inconsistencies may be observed by looking closely at the individual child's experiences

of the classroom. For example: More and more frequently, especially in primary schools, children are encouraged to develop their own work. Individualised learning is the acknowledged outcome of a child-centred approach to teaching. However, simultaneously, the greater proportion of tasks allocated by the teacher, including many individualised learning schemes, are repetitive and are replicated around the class. Over all, therefore, a high value is placed on conformity with the norms of the classroom. For example, after a visit to the Imperial War Museum, a class of nine year olds was asked to write about their visit (individual work, with some element of creativity?). One child wrote:

"I did not like the Imperial War Museum. I think a museum like that is a bad idea. If I had my way, I would make an Imperial Peace Museum."

The child was severely castigated by the teacher for failing to 'write about the visit' (i.e. identify and relate to the unstated classroom norm of writing descriptively) and in a later interview with the Headteacher, the incident was cited as evidence that the child was a non-conformist - a negative attribute.

Knowledge and skills are presented in the classroom as contained in discrete parcels. Indeed, the game of Pass the Parcel is an adequate analogy for the pupils' experience in many formal classrooms. Some pupils never do more than contact the outside of the parcel as it rapidly passes through their hands; some pupils have the excitement of undoing a layer of wrapping paper; a few pupils gain the prized contents of the parcel but only after an extended, ritualised game. However, in reality, knowledge and skills are sited contextually and needs are non-disciplinary, i.e. the needs are defined not the discipline areas to which they relate. Even in academic work, disciplinary boundaries are less and less appropriate to the definition of interests. But the clear demarcations remain in school and are transmitted to pupils. Lister quotes a pupil's objection to a lesson on power relationships within groups:

"That is not Politics; That is Sociology." (1976 : 10).

Yet another inconsistency can be observed between the frequently acknowledged social value of education, and the non-applicability of so much of the content which is purveyed in classrooms. Indeed, the York Political Education Research Unit drew attention to the narrow

conception which teachers and pupils had of politics and the possible content of lessons related to political education.

From the organisational, curriculum and methodological points of view, pupils are exposed to one message in the value statements which are articulated to them and another message in their experience. But inconsistencies of these kinds at best simply nullify the two messages. More frequently, as de Cecco and Richards (1974) pointed out, students learn what they experience rather than what they are told.

The model applied to the hidden curriculum

The model of political development can now be used to examine the messages of the hidden curriculum. Through applying the model in this way, it will demonstrate its power to explain and compare the learning experiences of the hidden curriculum with those of the overt curriculum.

The parameters of political development have been defined as participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. As political development is learned, the individual's propensity to increase his participation and his social mobilisation and to experience lessened vulnerability will be affected by his learning through both the manifest and the hidden curricula. The content of the hidden curriculum resides in the messages pupils receive through their experiences. The methods of the hidden curriculum are the means by which the content is transmitted, that is the structures and rituals of the institutions of education. To encourage political development, therefore, the means and the content of hidden and manifest curricula must combine to increase participation and social mobilisation and decrease vulnerability.

Participation

Attention has already been drawn to the degree of imitation and conformity which many formal educational structures encourage. Emphasis on book learning and unquestioning reproduction of inert knowledge is rewarded by examination passes and higher status. At the intellectual or academic level, therefore, the pupil is encouraged not to participate in the excitement of his learning by controlling its direction and pace but more usually to be the recipient of other people's decisions on these matters. An educational lifetime, that is ten years

or so, of such experiences, and pupils, themselves, reject knowledge and methods which are

"not seen as examinable or useful in future employment".

Furthermore,

"the passive roles of teachers and taught as reproducers of knowledge require a denial of individual and collective responsibility for actually producing knowledge ... (and reflect) a preoccupation with a materialism which denies the individual the opportunity to define his world, to act independently and responsibly and to express himself without the imposition of certain institutionalized constraints." (Spradbery, 1976 : 240/2).

Even where more active participation of pupils is encouraged as, for example, with younger children, where discovery or enquiry methods have become a little more acceptable in recent years, as Whitty and Young pointed out, the methods are used as a motivating device

"whereby the pupil may be persuaded to accept the sense someone else has made of the world rather than actively struggling to develop his own." (1976 : 38).

The table of needs for political development associated with the generation of the model in Chapter 2, listed efficacy, affiliation and equality of opportunity as needs of participation. A sense of efficacy is achieved through the exercise of control and responsibility. It can easily be seen how the conventionally structured learning of facts and skills runs counter to this aspect of participation.

At the organisational level within the classroom, the content and method of transmission are more frequently decided by the teacher or, even more remotely, by the author of the textbook in use. Consequently

"power resides in the hands of the teacher and pupils respond to his dictates." (Tapper and Salter, 1979 : 237).

This, again, removes the possibility of participation by the pupil. Further, even where texts have expressed participatory objectives,

"there is a strong element ... which is likely to discourage active citizenship and a feeling of efficacy ... The images of man and society are ... more likely to engender submissiveness, hopelessness, frustration and even ignorance." (Gilbert, 1980 : 27).

The non-participatory message is, therefore, reinforced both in the manner of learning and in the implied textual messages.

However, learning does not only take place as a result of pupil-initiated experience. A large part of learning results from reproducing observed examples of behaviour, generalising from these examples, and modelling patterns of behaviour. Thus teachers are not only ciphers for the transmission of information but, by their own behaviour and experience, offer messages to their pupils through the hidden curriculum. Where teachers conduct non-participatory relationships with their pupils, they are providing examples of the power which such a pattern of organisation conveys. Where teachers are, themselves, not able to be participants in professional decision-making within the school, they are acting as models of patterns of non-participatory behaviours, for example,

"if it is obvious to the pupils ... that the head never consults with his colleagues or habitually interrupts a lesson in progress." (Crick, 1975 : 8).

Where teachers exclude parents from their classrooms except on clearly specified "appropriate" occasions, they are, again, demonstrating to their pupils their rejection of a participatory ethic.

There are, thus, many ways in which the hidden curriculum can inform pupils about participation: through their intellectual experiences, that is, the manner in which they are encouraged to engage in learning; through classroom and school organisation, that is, the form of school structures they experience (Entwistle, 1971); through their observations and consequent extrapolations of the sanctioned behaviours of those they respect in the environment, for example teachers. In these ways, participation becomes

"a pedagogic technique, as well as an end desirable in itself in political terms." (Nelson, 1977 : 8).

Social Mobilisation

"Mobilization ... means an extension of what people learn to want out of life as they perceive new potentialities for increasing both the range and the quality of their satisfactions." (Cantril, 1965 : 230).

To encourage social mobilisation, pupils need to become comfortable with information - its availability, its collection, its use and its analysis. Smith listed the necessary skills as observational/informational, thinking, communication and action. (1980 : 29).

Packaged information is not effective in transmitting the skills of information analysis nor does it carry the message of competency, capacity and self-actualization which social mobilisation requires. Brake observed that, after three years of lessons in library skills - information searching and evaluation - pupils still

"faced difficulties at the most basic levels."
(1979 : 46).

He therefore asserted that

"teaching information handling should become integral to the act of teaching itself ... the changes which we hope to introduce relate not to subject content, nor pedagogic style but to learned outcomes." (1980).

The pupils also need to develop expectations of alternatives and learn how to choose between and use different procedures. If the alternatives have been eliminated from the curriculum, they are not required to make choices and consequently the hidden curriculum denies the necessity of so doing. Social mobilisation is dependent upon an extension of the range of roles and perceived flexibility in moving from one role to another. The hidden curriculum can include a valuing of different role playing or a negation of its value. Such valuing would not only require changes of role by pupils, but also by the adults in the school. For example, do the pupils ever see the teacher as a learner, or is the teacher always in the role of knowledge bearer? Do the pupils have the opportunity to enact authoritative and co-operative roles, as well as recipient ones? In sum, does the hidden curriculum convey that flexibility, adaptability and innovation are a required part of the development of each pupil, or does it deny this message? It is easy to see how the message of the hidden curriculum is a superordinate message which encompasses the messages of the segmented manifest curricula. In other words, role play in social studies as part of the requirements of that aspect of that curriculum will be seen as being a separate and unconnected activity with the required behaviours of the rest of the classroom if role play is not enacted generally. In the primary classroom, where the most usual form of organisation is to have one teacher to a class, the possibility of the superordinate messages being reflected by and reflecting the messages of each aspect of the manifest curriculum should be greater. However, the teacher must be aware of the power of the hidden curriculum

to support or to undermine the teaching of the manifest curriculum. In the secondary schools, where curricula in aspects of social science are more frequently to be found, the discontinuities between teachers of different subjects will exacerbate any tendencies to divorce subject learning from superordinate messages. Sharp and Green ask:

"How do we conceptualize 'interests' in social reality? ... Instead of seeing the classroom as a social system and as such insulated from wider structural processes, ... the teacher who has developed an understanding of his (or her) location in the wider process may well be in a better position to understand where and how it is possible to alter that situation ... rather than affirming the separation of politics and education, ... assume all education to be in its implications a political process." (1975 : x).

Vulnerability

The notion of vulnerability is a particularly powerful one when applied to the formal teaching/learning setting. Since pupils come, as it were, as suppliants to the classroom, they are already vulnerable to failure. Further, this failure is conspicuous so they are vulnerable on a social level, to be shamed or ridiculed, as well as on an individual level to lose self-respect.

"Every child experiences the pain of failure and the joy of success long before he reaches school age, but his achievements, or lack of them, do not really become official until he enters the classroom. From then on ... a semi-public record of his progress gradually accumulates, and ... he must learn to adapt to the continued and pervasive spirit of evaluation that will dominate his school years." (Jackson, 1968 : 19).

Lacking knowledge or skills that are needed and wanted diminishes competency and, consequently, diminishes security and control. The desire to reverse this process is a powerful motivator to learning which must compete with the need to accommodate to the institutionalised distractors of the classroom. Jackson underlines four which are produced by the crowded conditions of the classroom: delay, denial, interruption and social distraction; a further four are produced by the evaluative function of the school: compliance, avoidance, simulation and detachment; and finally the distribution of power in the classroom is such as to engender two more habits; obedience and docility. (Ibid, Chapter 1). The desire to know must be tempered

with the need to be patient until the teacher is free, or with being told that the demand is inappropriate, or with having the explanation interrupted before it has been adequately transmitted or with wanting to join in some other exchange in the classroom. The desire to know must, equally, compete with the wish to appear a "good" student which frequently means that questions are not posed because of fear of response from teacher and/or fellow students. The desire to know is not always appropriate to the moment, and must therefore sometimes be repressed in order to comply with classroom expectations.

Clearly, failure to provide opportunities for increased participation and social mobilisation provokes increased vulnerability. Walker and Adelman drew attention to the effects of the social climate in the classroom on the pupils' vulnerability. (1976). Lesswell and Kaplan pointed out that

"power is participation in the making of decisions."
(1950 : 75).

Lack of such power reduces control, induces insecurity and implies non-recognition. The behaviour of the non-powerful who have no basis for choice may be submissive or aggressive. Teachers recognise both patterns of behaviour in their pupils.

Teachers themselves are highly vulnerable although their professional status often makes this inadmissible. One adult required to administer large numbers of children in confined conditions is placed under personal and social stress. Hargreaves identified eight types of role strain and related them to teaching. (1972 : 81/92). In addition, signs of lack of control are identified as teacher failure. Even if the class is managed well, teachers perceive threats to their self-image and to their status as teachers, that is their autonomy to act in their classrooms. (Jackson, 1968; Chapter 4). Such threats might stem from the immediacy of demands to provide information, skills, adjudication, affection or justification; or they may stem from the imposition of curricular requirements or from evaluation of them by superiors. In the role of know-er, not to know can appear a disaster; to be inefficient in transmitting the knowledge, can be just as professionally disastrous. Vulnerability is, consequently, a teacher's frequent companion.

The hidden curriculum can increase the vulnerability of the pupil by, for example, exposing him to the judgment of his peers and his teachers. Mental arithmetic tests serve this function admirably. They carry many hidden messages, such as the one that people who cannot do oral arithmetic are stupid, or the one that the important thing about mathematics is to get the right answer speedily. They invoke many of the behaviours to which reference was made above, behaviours like avoidance - trying not to catch the teacher's eye, simulation - trying to look as if you know the answer so that the teacher will ask someone else or detachment - convincing yourself that not knowing the answers is unimportant.

Equally, the vulnerability of the teacher is increased by exposing the difficulties or inadequacies of teaching to the gaze of pupils, parents or colleagues. This could be an explanation as to why many teachers instruct primary pupils to avoid the pages of practical examples for discovery learning in modern mathematics texts. Since discovery learning requires different patterns of demand and interaction in the classroom, a teacher unfamiliar with this way of working will be insecure as to its outcomes. The message of the hidden curriculum then conveyed to the pupils is that discovery learning is unnecessary or inapplicable in this classroom. The pupils may well derive the further message that the teacher could not cope with the demands and the cycle of vulnerability is complete.

It is not only within the classroom that vulnerability is an appropriate concept for teachers and taught. The general organisation of the school can be such as to increase or decrease the vulnerability of pupils and teachers. Structures can be devised to encourage those who operate within them to feel confident, respected and competent, and able to influence the decision-making process. Where vulnerability increases, submissive and/or aggressive behaviour will testify to the presence of feelings of impotence, frustration and inadequacy.

Applying the model of political development highlights the way in which the hidden curriculum can counteract or support the manifest curriculum. Such an application, looking closely at each parameter in turn, as well as at their interactions, and closely observing the teacher's

and the pupil's experiences in a particular school, can provide evidence for consistency or inconsistency. For example, Rosenbaum showed that, even when social class factors are controlled, inequalities were created and perpetuated by selection procedures within the school that he investigated in the U.S.A. Far from providing equality of opportunity and mobility through the schooling process, and despite the articulation of these objectives, he concluded:

"my findings point to increases in ability (and self-esteem) among the future elite and decreases for the non-elite." (1976 : 197).

Since schools in many societies continue to be differentiated by social class factors, by resources, by environments, it is reasonable to expect that the factors identified by Rosenbaum as making inequalities are generalisable from the U.S.A. to other societies.

Manifest and Hidden Curricula

At the beginning of this Chapter, the optimists who proposed new curricula for political development were compared with the pessimists who proclaimed that schools have been ineffective instruments in political development. This gap was described by Webb:

"educators concerned with developing political literacy have largely ignored classroom processes, and sociologists concerned with education have, until recently, neglected classrooms." (1979 : 221).

An explanation for the link between the failure of new curricula and the ineffectiveness of schools was offered by analysing the hidden curriculum and its interaction with the manifest curriculum. Two propositions are now derived:

Proposition 1: To encourage political development, consistency is required between the messages of the manifest and the hidden curricula. The model of political development provides an instrument for comparing these messages for consistency.

Proposition 2: To encourage political development, the role and function of the hidden curriculum must be exposed so that it can no longer act unintentionally to counteract the values, attitudes and behaviours espoused by the school and society. The hidden must become overt.

To pursue propositions 1 and 2, both manifest and hidden curricula must be analysed. This requires an examination of both the content

and methods of all the subjects which make up the manifest curriculum, including, but not only, subjects encompassing values across the whole age range. Such examinations are being undertaken in different discipline areas. Gilbert, for example, has completed a text analysis of books used in the teaching of social subjects including history, geography, economics, sociology and social studies, to the 13 - 16 years age range. He

"sought to identify the images presented, and to suggest their implications for the way pupils might be led to think of and relate to other people and form beliefs about society and its institutions."
(1980 : 7).

He also interviewed pupils to examine their interpretations of and responses to the images identified in the texts. However, as White and White (undated) have pointed out, there has been a curious imbalance of interest in the political education of secondary pupils as though primary school pupils did not develop attitudes, behaviours and values. Much political socialization has already been effected by the early teens.

Once the value implications of the manifest curriculum have been identified, the hidden curriculum must be exposed to the same analysis. The analysis and matching between manifest and hidden is simplified by the use of the model of political development which categorizes and classifies according to the same framework. To ensure learning, however, it is insufficient to look only at content. Tapper and Salter pointed to

"the naivety implicit in ideas such as ... that pupils will find political education stimulating because it should be centred around contemporary issues .. the idea of learning through participation ... is never categorically encouraged." (1979 : 242/3).

Teaching method, organisational structures and learning experiences are just as important as content if not more so. Bowles refers to the hidden curriculum as

"of paramount importance. Whether relationships among students are hierarchical and competitive or egalitarian and co-operative, whether relations among students, teachers and the larger community are democratic or authoritarian, are better indicators of what students actually learn in schools than texts or formal curricula." (1978 : 788).

More particularly, the nature of the classroom interaction will reflect

the quality of relationships, the manner of control, the distribution of responsibility, in sum the values, attitudes and behaviours normal to that classroom.

"Classroom interaction involves an ongoing process, political in nature, of seeking to influence definitions through negotiations and renegotiation." (Webb, 1979 : 224).

Using the model as a tool for analysis, the purposes and functions of teaching method and the perceptions and attitudes associated with learning experiences can be identified and checked against the formally presented content for consistency. In this way, the potential of education to influence political development will be mobilised.

Throughout, the emphasis has been on the values and needs of the individual and the necessity of using these as a starting point. Many programmes in political education advocate an issues-based curriculum out of which individual responses are expected to be created. It is the contention here that that orientation is mistaken, not in its intention, but in its direction. Issues are personally felt and can, consequently, only be personally identified. The need, in consequence, is not for the presentation of a curriculum to teachers which encourages a package approach to the pupils, but the presentation of a pedagogy which is derived from the acknowledged interaction between the learning needs of the individual and the framework for political development. This pedagogy is as important to very young children as to older ones since it is designed to replace the current pedagogy freely acknowledged as unsatisfactory to the purposes of political development. (See Stevens, 1977). Every pedagogy reflects a set of values and needs. No 'innovation' is therefore necessary. However there is frequently confusion about the values and needs which underpin the pedagogy. Teachers and those who train teachers, have not made the identification, understanding and analysis of values and needs a central pedagogical issue. And yet as Ryan, comparing the formal curriculum to a 747 transcontinental jetliner pointed out:

"it is the nature of the hidden curriculum which will determine whether or not the formal curriculum gets properly fuelled and takes off." (1973 : 679).

The urgent need, therefore is for teachers and those associated with teaching to improve their clarity of intent and consistency of action. The adoption of a framework such as the one presented in this study

allows for the use of a tool by which judgments can be made, both on intention and on consistency. If the three parameters are acceptable within the overall philosophy of the society, judgments on what to teach, how to teach, how to relate structures to content, can all be made within the criteria of the three parameters. Particular value stances of particular individuals are irrelevant under these conditions. Fears of propaganda in the classroom or the indoctrination of children are equally irrelevant. Choice of curriculum content, or classroom organisation, become a result of applying this model and looking for consistency between manifest and hidden curriculum. Because learning and political development are intertwined through participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability, these three parameters describe the learning and developmental needs of the individual.

Section 3: The model in the light of experience

In Section 2, the model was applied to a 'cross-section' of theoretical concepts. In this Section, the model is used as a tool in explaining 'vertically', as it were, the experience of education in the political development of two states Kenya and Tanzania. No case study is intended, but these two states serve as interesting examples of a differing role and intentions of education, in the pursuit of political development. Finally, the Conclusion offers thoughts on the way in which the model can help to organise thinking about four aspects of the educational system, its structures, the curriculum, teacher education and adult education and, in particular, the hidden curricula implications of each.

CHAPTER 7

KENYA

An observer of the Kenyan system of education is struck powerfully by three factors. The first is the strength and commitment of local communities to the national policy of self-help. The daily newspapers and radio are full of announcements of projects which have been initiated by local groups and of donations which have been received from local prominent people (most frequently the local Member of Parliament). Government becomes closely associated with these self-help activities as, once they are functioning satisfactorily there is an expectation that Government will take over the costs. In the case of the Harambee school movement this expectation is certainly fulfilled in many cases. There is no doubt that this local drive to provide educational facilities for their young people is strong and reflects an apparently rational assessment of the relationship between standards of living and educational attainment. It does not yet appear to be affected by the unemployed school leaver problem except in some movement towards technical and vocational institutes instead of academic secondary schools.

The second factor is the control which the examination system exercises over the performance and expectations of pupils, teachers and parents. Children's life chances are clearly dependent upon success in the examinations as the pyramid of opportunities narrows rapidly and the rewards associated with high achievement are themselves very high. Each successive examination controls the content of the curriculum in the years preceding it and, inevitably, the predominant methods of teaching are drill and rote. School status is dependent upon number of passes in the public examinations, as are pupils' opportunities. Despite valiant attempts to broaden the range of skills tested by the examinations as well as to increase their efficiency, teachers, again quite rationally, continue to use the methods which have led to success. The use of English is one example. English is the accepted lingua franca of the Government and of higher education.

Facility in English is a prerequisite for success in formal examinations and children in competitive nursery schools are being taught in English to give them a 'good' start into the better primary schools. This is automatically advantageous to the children of educated, English speaking urban parents and militates heavily against rural children whose teachers frequently have only a minimal command of English. English is a requirement for advancement; Kiswahili is a compulsory subject on the timetable. In competitive schools the Kiswahili requirement can be a dead letter. One Headmaster remarked that only when the Certificate of Primary Education was conducted in Kiswahili would he change the medium of instruction in his school. He was very proud of his reputation for successes in the C.P.E. and his school was regarded as one of the best in the town (a booming, industrial town not far from Nairobi). This is further rational behaviour by the school given the structure of opportunities in the system.

The third factor is the noticeable imbalance in opportunity. The Kenya Government is committed to equality of opportunity and differentiation of rewards based on achievement and merit. However, it quickly becomes apparent that the achievement of some children, noticeably those in urban areas, children of professional or middle-class families, is facilitated by the social and geographical advantages of their birth. Compare, for example, the experience of the children in the school mentioned above, exercising selection on entry to Standard 1, teaching throughout the school in English, and obtaining a 70% pass rate in the C.P.E. with those of the children in a small, rural school on the slopes of Mount Kenya where all the local children may attend, the medium of instruction is the Kikuyu language, there is a zero pass rate in the C.P.E. Nonetheless, children from less advantaged backgrounds do appear at present to be obtaining their chance and this is offered by some commentators as an explanation for why the system continues to be supported by the majority when so few children of such a biased distribution are gaining the rewards (Keller, 1978). In 1977, for example, 170,000 out of 200,000 children who sat the Certificate of Primary Education failed to gain a place in a government maintained secondary school. (The Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 6, 1977). From this point on, those children will have to adjust their life expectations to the reality of their local, predominantly

rural, environment, seeking such further opportunities for training as are available either through Harambee (self-help) schools or technical training, Village Polytechnics or the 'informal sector'.* Research suggests that for the majority of these children their return to illiteracy will take just three to four years. (Maleche and Krystall, 1973).

The official statement of Kenyan Government objectives are to be found in the Development Plan, which cited individual freedom, freedom from want, disease, ignorance and exploitation, expansion of the economy with equitable sharing and integration of the national economy. The Government reiterated its commitment to a mixed economy, foreign investment, an open society, local community initiative and the recognition and reward of individual skill, effort and initiative.

"The school is expected to produce hard working, resourceful, loyal and responsible young citizens who are cognizant of the significance of their future roles in the development of the country".
(Keller, 1978 : 227).

The education policy objectives were spelt out as the expansion of educational opportunities, the production of high level manpower and the promotion of national unity. Two major problems were recognised by the Kenyan Government. The first related to the implications of a formal educational system which, in providing the route to individual and social advancement, failed to equip a large and growing number of young people with the necessary skills and qualities required by the economy. The second problem related to the effects of selectivity and the exclusive orientation to the modern sector which are

"in fundamental contradiction to the social and cultural values upheld by the Government."
(Republic of Kenya, 1974 : 404).

The outcome of these two problem areas is recognised in the Plan by growing school leaver unemployment, and the rising levels of formal

* For a full treatment of the informal sector see ILO report Employment, Incomes and Equality : a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya, 1972).

qualifications demanded by employers.

"The Government feels that the true substance of education lies in the modes of enquiry and self-initiative stimulated in the student." (Ibid : 407).

The Government of Kenya, then, had identified socio-political discontinuities between the effects of the educational structure and its own objectives, both educational and socio-political. Despite a very heavy budgetary commitment to education, over 50 million pounds a year by 1975, (Furley & Watson, 1978 : 377) its Plan was critical of the failures to meet economic, social and individual demands. An analysis of Kenyan political development in terms of the theoretical framework developed above will now be undertaken.

Participation: the Kenyan concept of self-help and its implementation in the provision of facilities in local communities emphasises participation at the local level. Although much Harambee (self-help) activity is a function of the influence, generosity and involvement of particular usually well-known, members of the community such as the local Member of Parliament, for a project to be successful it must arouse the commitment of a large enough group to make it economically, as well as communally, viable. The manner in which the principle of self-help is implemented allows a great deal of flexibility for local initiative as well as for initiatives exercised by organised groups such as the church. Indeed

"Harambee students are involved in the politics of their communities and seem to feel that what they do there contributes to national development."
(Keller, 1978 : 246).

Nonetheless, this is all within the global context of a predominantly non-participatory political system in which decision-making and, consequently, power and influence rest firmly in the hands of a small, self-perpetuating group representative of only one part of Kenyan society. Access to advancement is not closed to those outside the group in power; merit plays an important part but access can still be fragmented, uncertain and to some extent capricious. The socio-political message of Kenyan society to its individual members is of encouragement to initiative and involvement in a participatory mode at the local level where human and economic resource constraints are greatest and power is least but in the context of less certain access to a world of power and

patronage at the national level. (Prewitt, 1974 : 199/216). This is a very limited participatory role although, as Bienen (1974) has pointed out

"it has been sufficient in Kenya until now to meet social and economic demands."

When the role and function of education is viewed from this point of view, it operates consistently with social practice. The Government is committed to universal, free primary education and the promotion of a literate and numerate population. It encourages local educational responsibility and initiative. At the same time a very strong bias can be observed in class and geographical distribution of the achievers in the system. (Prewitt, 1974 : 205). This is an accurate reflection of social practice. It is not surprising to find that the participatory ethic is not a strong one in the formal school setting. Since academic success is one prerequisite for social achievement in a society where merit and advantage are the two criteria which are used for advancement, the purpose of the school is to distinguish the meritorious from the rest and ensure that their merit is rewarded. To this end, schooling is for certification; and content and method is reduced to an apparently successful format for this. Increased participation, whether by pupils, teachers or members of the community in the operation, decision-making or practice of the school is not obviously an asset to achieving that goal. In calling for a reform of the Kenyan education system, Somerset wrote

"reform would involve an increase in participation of various kinds: participation of the school in the life of the community; participation of non-teachers with specialist skills in the teaching of specialist subjects; participation of pupils who are being educated at the secondary and tertiary levels in elementary education and adult literacy." (1974 : 182).

The Government continues to express its regrets, too, at the failure of the education system to encourage participatory skills appropriate to the majority of its citizens. At the same time, competition and reward by patronage inhibit the changes which would be necessary.

The 'reality' of Kenya

"includes strong ethnic identification, the maintenance of rural-urban ties among migrants, and weak class consciousness where the relatively underprivileged hope to ascend in the social and economic hierarchy through individual and ethnic movement rather than through class action. Leaders can act without effective restraints on them. That is, neither constitutional provisions nor interest groups nor the electoral system can check governmental leaders' executive powers in the short run. But ... there is a great deal of localised determination of political life on local issues." (Bienen, 1974 : 190).

The reality of the schools reflects the social reality. There are 'high-cost', 'medium-cost' and 'low-cost' primary schools roughly corresponding to the European, Asian and African demarcation prior to independence, and distributed relatively favourably/unfavourably in the urban/rural areas. A value judgment has been placed on the language of instruction despite the declared policy of teaching all children the Swahili language such that in high cost primary schools the language of instruction is English and in low cost schools it is most likely to be the local vernacular. Resources are equally maldistributed. Court and Prewitt (1972) have reported on the degree to which secondary school students relate the resources which they observe being allocated to their schooling to their opportunities. The result can be seen in effects on their regional, rather than national, identification. This amounts to a discrepancy between national plan, and actual social and educational practice. Even though it is recognised by Kenyan politicians and frequently reiterated that Kenya needs a rural population which is flexible, ingenious and creative in order to build up its economic and social base in the agricultural areas, and that the schools ought to be engendering these attributes in the pupils, it is also asserted that the schools are an essential component of the opportunity structure in Kenya. As such, they are promoting such values as competition, conformity and rule following, rather than cooperation, innovation and initiative. Above all, if the schools were to recognise one of their functions as being a participatory one and were to introduce aspects of participation at all levels, pupil participation in the organisation, choice, and development of work in the classroom, teacher participation in decision-making within the

school, community participation in aspects of school activities and organisation, levels of expectation would be raised for all concerned which would be inconsistent with current provision and practice. The implementation of such a change is highly unlikely in the present social climate.

The social mobilisation factor of political development has been described in terms of the potential of citizens to increase the quantity and quality of their satisfactions. A society with high social mobilisation is one, therefore, in which advantage can, and is, taken of a wide range of opportunities in the social, political and individual arena. Such opportunities might relate to occupational movement, geographical movement, role movement, or chances for personal expression. Much has been written about social mobility in Kenya. : The expansion of educational opportunities, the close relationship between educational achievement and employment, and the comparatively brief period during which structures of power and influence have been consolidated since independence can perhaps explain why

"most observers are agreed that there has been a good deal of social mobility from one generation to the next and that parental wealth has not been critical so far in individual attainment of elite status." (Bienen, 1974 : 190).

More important, for the majority of Kenyans, to whom elite status achievement can be an example of the possible but unlikely, is the quality of opportunities which affect their social mobility at the local level. Many examples of social mobility can be observed in Kenya. An example can be seen in the Maasai student at Nairobi University who regularly dresses himself traditionally and performs for the tourists in one of Nairobi's best hotels, thereby helping to pay his way through College. However social mobility is not the same as social mobilisation, which must be seen from the point of view of the individual and his propensity to make use of the resources in his environment. Students at a Village Polytechnic in Nyanza Province explaining the new roles and expectations which they have, offer evidence of social mobilisation and help to make clear the distinction. These students acknowledge their power to influence their immediate environment and affect changes in their own life-styles. They have

no expectations of moving upwards through the social hierarchy.

From the point of view of the school and its contribution to social mobilisation, it is possible to identify a large number of factors. The conventional view of the school's function relates very closely to certain aspects of social mobility and not so clearly to social mobilisation. Bowles and Gintis convincingly challenge the basis of the close correlation always assumed between cognitive achievement at school and economic success;

"although higher levels of schooling and economic success tend to go together, the intellectual abilities developed or certified in school make little causal contribution to getting ahead economically. Only a minor portion of the substantial statistical association between school and economic success can be accounted for by the school's role in producing or screening cognitive skills." (1976 : 110).

In an achievement-oriented society, and one where the gap in earnings between the traditional and modern sector is so wide, school achievement relates very closely to income and occupational status, that is, to social mobility. As the rate of growth in modern-sector employment opportunities reduces to keep pace with the actual rate of development in the modern sector, the demands on school achievement increase. Employers demand evidence relating less to cognitive achievement than to the success an individual can show at having lasted the distance and outlasted the other competitors. It is important therefore to recognise the school as the effective filter system for the employing sector. Whoever passes through the filter will be acceptable to a degree to prospective employers and they are saved the necessity of operating their own filter. The school, from this point of view, acts as an administrator of economic opportunities, and consequent social mobility. But there are many other ways, less direct, in which the school influences social mobilisation.

Bowles and Gintis argue that it is in the transference of behaviours and expectations associated with the world of work that the school is most noticeably effective. Insofar as the school acts as the agent of future employers, one of its responsibilities is to succeed in stratifying both the levels of competence and the levels of expectations of its pupils. How is it possible, efficiently, to identify the range

and quantity of skills required in a society and then to ensure that the output from the educational institutions match the projections? In terms of behavioural and personal criteria, the implications of this question relate to a pupil's view of his abilities and his expectations. He obtains that view as a result of his experiences at school together with his observation of the experiences of those around him. His successful translation into the world of work which is hierarchical is encouraged by the hierarchical nature of his experiences at school. His responses are expanded or contracted to match the expectations of his environment.

However, in an economy like Kenya, the attraction of the modern sector and its needs are only one aspect of its development. As the Government of Kenya has recognised and reiterated in its plans and statements, Kenyan growth is dependent upon the agricultural sector and to that extent on the flexibility, cooperation and propensity to change of its rural inhabitants. So these characteristics are vital to social mobilisation. Here, again, the pressures towards conformity and rule-following of the modern sector appear to be in conflict with the needs of development.

The practices of the schools support the mobility requirements of the modern sector despite the widespread needs of the traditional and lead the officials to exhort changes in behaviours which are dysfunctional to the currently defined mobilisation role of the schools. For the schools to achieve changes in social mobilisation amongst their pupils, emphases would have to be changed, levels of information and experience would need to be altered, a re-definition would be required in the place of school in the community. Such a re-definition would require not only the expansion of the range of behaviours learnt and experienced inside the school, but also a re-evaluation of the function and roles in the community. Examples of the kind of changes required would be the incorporation of members of the community in both the decision-making framework of the school and as instructor/advisers where appropriate; the adoption by members of staff in the school of a wide

range of roles and behaviours both inside the school and within the community; changes in curriculum and method to reflect a high value being placed on rural activities, both social and economic; consequent changes in the organisation and content of courses for teacher training with the factors bearing on social mobilisation being emphasised; changes in attitude towards the role and function of schooling. Indeed, the discussion in Chapter 5 drew attention precisely to these kinds of changes. Not only would the adoption of such changes as are outlined above prove to be exceedingly difficult, for example because of lack of resources and lack of general social credibility, they would not even appear to be consistent with the currently operated norms and expectations of the modern, power-based sector. As long as such a discontinuity exists, it is unreasonable to expect fundamental changes in one social system, that is schools, which are an integral part of the opportunity to participate in another, that is the economic.

The third dimension of political development, as outlined earlier, is vulnerability. It is on this dimension that Kenya's problems appear most clearly. Kenyan social organisation is highly vulnerable. Amongst many different ethnic and social groupings, the main topic of political conversation relates to how stable/unstable is the present network of control and what implications that has for the security of the individual concerned. Not only is Kenya's political infrastructure in the process of being developed and consolidated, which is itself an explanation for feelings of insecurity, but intra- and inter-tribal affiliations are also criteria for exploring and exploiting relationships. The existence of a kinsman, the possibility of explaining your problem in the tribal language, the claims of traditional patterns of social communication are all examples of criteria which affect the forms of contact between individuals and consequently promote or decrease opportunities, before other, more objective criteria, have been considered. This induces high levels of vulnerability as every new encounter will initially be moulded by subjective issues. The conclusions reached in Chapter 4 on ethnicity are most relevant to Kenyan experience.

Individuals in Kenya feel threatened on a physical level and, indeed, sometimes are. As a consequence, those who can protect their

homes and belongings by erecting compounds with locked gates and guards, do so. As the gap between those who are profiting from Kenya's development and those who are not grows wider, this problem will presumably also increase. At the present time, in the urban areas particularly, evidence of this form of personal vulnerability is not difficult to find. Visitors to Kenya, especially women, are warned of the danger of physical attack and, for example, handbag snatching, for the purpose of robbery. This is not peculiar to Kenya, of course, but is a symptom of any society where conspicuous consumption and inequalitarian access make the gap between "haves" and "have nots" obvious. It makes living in such a society a more vulnerable experience both for those who threaten and those who are threatened.

Vulnerability, while being a general phenomenon, is particularly likely to be increased in a society undergoing rapid change with the added disadvantage of lack of resources. Some societies institutionalise vulnerability in the structures which they develop and consolidate. Of these structures, the school system is one example.

The pyramidal nature of the school system has already been described, and reference has been made to the effect of the examination system which is the determinant of movement up the pyramid. As a social structure, Kenya's school system creates and promotes vulnerability. Kay drew attention to

"uneven school development and the concomitant unequal opportunities which have long been features of African educational systems." (1979 : 81).

The extremely competitive nature of the system inevitably induces high levels of competition and consequent insecurity and frustration in the pupils and their parents. The life chances of a family can be dependent upon the success of one of their children in achieving a modern-sector job. Even for families where economic advantages are not the issue, social and psychological status can be. Whatever the reasons, the pressures increase as the pyramid narrows. Failure is the prospect for the majority of pupils. The hierarchy of organisation within the school system is reflected in the hierarchical organisation within the school itself. The authority of the headteacher and the respect which he commands is an accepted part of school life. Teachers

are vulnerable to the criticism of those superior to them and transfer their insecurities to the classroom where the content of their lessons becomes their only form of security. Pupils cannot be allowed to challenge content, since that is a challenge directly to the teacher's own authority. Vulnerability is an outcome of interaction between individuals or of an individual's experience with a structure. In theory, the teacher's vulnerability could be reduced by transferring the basis of his security, dependent as it is upon content authority (that is, his need to know), into personal security, dependent upon his relationships with his pupils, colleagues and parents. Such a transference would reduce his sense of 'exposure' in the classroom, as his authority would now rest not upon what he knew but upon the person he was and the way he enacted his role. This would also be consistent with the earlier aspects of political development already discussed, that is increases in participation and social mobilisation. However, such a transference demands a complex range of changes emanating from a different view of the role and function of a teacher and the role and function of a pupil, and encompassing changes in all aspects of teaching and learning, organisational, curricular and methodological. In practice, faced with possibly 40 or 50 children, and a job specification which simply relates to examination success, the individual teacher has neither the psychic, social nor intellectual strength to change direction. In his precarious position, it is not even feasible to request it of him.

Interestingly enough, and as evidence of the degree of flexibility which is present in the Kenyan system, there has been a recent development which takes all these issues into account, at least in theory. This is the growth of the Village Polytechnic movement in Kenya. Village Polytechnics are part of the Kenya Government's Youth Development Programme which aims to prepare young people (primary school leavers) for work in their home areas, and to develop rural areas. This concern is now expressed through

"programmes for girls, a concern for the unschooled and for secondary as well as primary school leavers, and a concern for urban youth." (Kenyan Ministry of Health & Social Services, 1975 : 2).

The Programme develops through the growth of Village Polytechnics, local institutions under the control of a Manager, which offer craft and and technical-based courses to local young people.

In what ways can the Village Polytechnics be seen to exercise a political development role? First the Village Polytechnic is seen as a focus for participating action by both students and members of the local community. Second, it is seen as having a social mobilisation function in affecting the levels of skills, information and involvement relating to the community. Third it is expected to decrease social and economic vulnerability. Each Polytechnic, to be established and gain the government funding which is available, must prove that it has the requisite amount of local support both to open and continue to operate. The Programme aims to develop

"skills and attitudes among boys and girls that will lead them to income earning and money saving activities in the rural area. Furthermore, the programme helps them in learning how to use their skills and talents for developing the communities in which they live. Technical skills are being taught in carpentry, motor mechanic, tailoring and dressmaking, masonry, agriculture, home economics, leatherwork, metalwork, plumbing, electrical courses, typing and book-keeping."
(Youth Development Programme Newsletter No. 13, 1975 : 1).

The Government assists by providing grants-in-aid towards expenses such as salaries for instructors, tools and equipment and technical advice for projects. But, the local community must provide workshops, land and work opportunities for the trainees and leavers and must encourage their children to use the projects. The programme provides on-the-job training so trainees earn money by finding and meeting contracts in the local area. This combines an educational function with an expansion of work opportunities. For example,

"many harambee health centres, cattle dips, social welfare buildings, schools and shops are being built by the youth training project trainees all over the Republic. In addition, the trainees make farm equipment for local farmers, such as low-cost nutshellers, wheelbarrows, maize sheller and water ram for water supply. Further, the programme helps in keeping the circulation of money in the rural area. This, therefore, strengthens the economy of the rural area." (Ibid : 2).

Village Polytechnics are not run by the Ministry of Education but come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. This is perhaps one explanation for the change in perspective as to their function and the roles of those involved. First, they are seen as participatory organisations, growing from the needs of the

local community and feeding back into those needs providing the skills and utilising old and new patterns of work opportunities. They are also intended to increase social mobilisation by making those who take the courses more aware of the possibilities within the local community and the means and skills to take advantage of these. One particularly good example of the effectiveness of this aspect of the Village Polytechnic movement has been the growth of bee-keeping in communities which have developed this as an interest. The bee hives are produced by the carpentry section of the Polytechnics, the management of the bees and sale of the honey is organised by the agricultural section. The honey is sold in soft-drink bottles, freely available. In 1977, some Polytechnics displayed and marketed their technology and its products at the annual Nairobi Agricultural Show. This has been a successful and growing concern.

The Village Polytechnics have developed out of a recognition of the needs of those who are leaving school with no work opportunities and no relevant practical skills which they can use in the traditional or the cash economy. Because the schools are training for examination success, their curricula are academic and, until recently, dominated by cultural patterns alien to the majority of those who attend. It is the responsibility of the Village Polytechnic to identify projects in the local vicinity which could provide work/training opportunities for the trainees. Such projects will range from responding to an order from a local cooperative or, frequently, government department, to recognising a need currently unfulfilled which the project could meet and thereby create a market. For example, at Nyangora Village Polytechnic, four kilograms of a particular flower seed are sold to the Polytechnic each year by a seed merchant in Germany. The Polytechnic harvests the seeds from the flower crop and sells them back to the seed merchant. This is a project commissioned externally which is extremely lucrative to the Polytechnic and is being successful in promoting ideas for the development of similar cash crops. At Kiptere Village Polytechnic, which is larger, regular courses are being run in a wide range of subjects such as motor vehicle mechanics, leathercraft, agriculture and home science. At Ahero Village Polytechnic, which is one of the longest established and largest, there is a flourishing masonry section which has been responsible for much of the building in the local area and, most especially, for a number of

government and funding agency projects which have built community health centres and training centres for health and welfare.

However, from the point of view of this particular piece of work, it is not only the existence and growth of the village polytechnics which is so interesting as the methods that they are using for training, developing and organising those who administer and teach in them, as well as changing attitudes.

"A Youth Development Project such as a Village Polytechnic is not a school, and it is not just a trade training centre. It is a programme which prepares young people for work and gives them management skills and work experience. A trainee does not start to work after he leaves the Village Polytechnic, he learns how to be a successful worker while he is at the Village Polytechnic. It should be difficult to know when a trainee becomes a worker." (Min. of Health & Social Services, 1976 : 2).

Both Managers and instructors undergo periods of training and re-training to give them the necessary skills, ideas and confidence to function effectively. These managers and instructors may, themselves, have completed only their primary school education. Those who are responsible for the growth of village polytechnics are anxious that the person with relevant experience, flair for finding work opportunities and good teaching relationships should be preferred as an employee to someone with higher paper qualifications. The Job Description for an instructor/manager not only lists all the usual criteria such as record keeping, supervision of work and, of course, instruction, but includes criteria such as

"give trainees an understanding ... of the needs of the communities in which they will work"

and

"delegate authority to other staff and ... hold regular staff meetings."

Further,

"every Instructor has a part to play in the management of his Project"

including attending

"weekly staff meetings at which ideas and problems about the daily running of the Project are discussed."

Evaluation of the performance of Instructors/Managers is the basis for increases in salary and is stipulated to be done annually.

Criteria of good performance not only include those relating to teaching and the recruitment of trainees and contracts, but also

"active participation in community education activities"

"participating in extra curricular activities for trainees"

"delegation of authority to staff"

"holding of regular and effective staff meetings".

Evaluation includes statements from trainees about Instructors. In preparing the Instructors for working with their trainees, emphasis is laid on the differences between school children and young adults.

"Involve your trainees in decision-making, and deal with their questions and problems with honesty and consideration. Do not treat trainees as though they are too young to understand that money is scarce ... always encourage questions and participation ... Most Youth Development Projects have a Trainees' Council and have a trainees' representative on the Management Committee. If your Project does not have these things, tactfully encourage their implementation. We cannot expect trainees to become independent craftsmen and community leaders unless their qualities of independence and leadership are developed at the Youth Development Project." (Ibid : 8/26).

Much of the training employs techniques such as role play and group discussion to ensure that the Instructor/Managers are challenged to be able to represent the different points of view of those with whom they will come in touch in the course of their work. It is clear from the statements quoted above that those who are responsible for the implementation of the Village Polytechnic programme are most concerned about the impact of the factors which have been highlighted throughout, that is participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. Within the limitations of the funding of the programme, a clear attempt is being made to ensure that these factors are built in to the teaching and work experience of those within the Polytechnics. The push of the programme is in the direction of helping local communities to re-assess their values, attitudes and behaviours in the context of their needs and expectations.

It would, of course, be foolish to expect that these theoretical considerations have dominated the practical experience of those involved.

Far from being highly participatory, with consultation and discussion being emphasized, some Village Polytechnics look like secondary schools with poor facilities. One such that was visited rang bells for 'periods' and 'breaks' and students questioned did not notice a lot of difference in the way in which they were treated by their Instructors from what they had experienced at primary school. Neither would those trainees have accepted the right or obligation to criticize the behaviour, methods or organisation of their Instructor. At this same Polytechnic, some trainees were receiving a course of instruction in book-keeping which related more to a text than to the real world of the projects and contracts on which the Polytechnic was engaged. Some critics of the Village Polytechnics have pointed to the way in which some programmes have associated themselves with the trade testing certificate system, thus opting back into the certification stream. (Court, 1974 : 219/241). However, the principle requiring changes in values, attitudes and behaviours has been established and pervades the thinking of those who are responsible for this programme. With this in mind, it does seem reasonable to expect that if the programme continues to fill the need for which it is designed, it will not only be innovatory in the way in which it is attempting to meet the problems of rural development, but even more so in the form of training and work experience which it is promoting.

Pupils and teachers alike are consequently experiencing, in their own ways, the vulnerability which is embedded in the current educational practices in Kenya. Members of local communities, too, have their own experiences of vulnerability when they attempt to get information from, or feed information into, the school. In a small village in England, known to the author, the children in one of the three classes in the local primary school were studying a castle which is only approximately 15 miles away. All their study was done from books. Some parents tried to suggest to the Headteacher that it might be appropriate to take the children on a visit to the castle. This was seen by the staff as the 'ultimate' challenge by parents of their authority to know what was right for the pupils in their care. By making the suggestion the parents were increasing the teachers' vulnerability. In their response, the teachers were having that effect on the parents. In the process, it is the pupils, and ultimately

society, who lose - both in terms of the educational value of the school work and in terms of their observation of the behaviours, roles and responses which are suitable to the society in which they are maturing. Will these pupils grow up to expect education and the real world to reflect each other or, on the contrary, will they see educational experiences as being book-oriented and non-applicable? Will they have learnt to act responsibly towards each other and to have a commitment to the society in which they live or, on the contrary, will they see social responsibility as being a narrow area only relating to their immediate role and defined in terms of it? Will they see success at school, or in their life, as an internally defined phenomenon in terms of who they are, what they can do, what are their interests, what contribution they make to others or, on the contrary, are they learning that success is contingent upon arbitrarily imposed external criteria, so defined that only some can meet them. These are the kinds of questions that are being asked of educational systems in many parts of the world. In Kenya too, many people are very disturbed by the nature of the experiences children are having at school and by the discontinuity between those experiences and the demands of the society in general. However, it is clear from the foregoing analysis that the schools can only reflect the current norms of the society. They are not agents for changing the norms. In a society where the social norms are in contradiction to the educational norms as expressed, for example, in current educational or political philosophy, it is the social norms which will set the rules of the game. Educational practice will then conform and be consistent with social expectation, as in Kenya, or attempt to pursue a different path and confront social expectation, as in the liberal/progressive movement in the United States and Britain. The outcome of the latter attempt, as so clearly demonstrated by Bowles and Gintis in the United States, is that education has had no major impact on such issues as egalitarianism, or expansion of opportunity.

"In particular, the liberal goal of employing the educational system as a corrective device for overcoming the 'inadequacies' of the economic system is vain indeed." (1976 : 148).

Furthermore, where experimentation with changed methods or curricula has been seen as intellectual and social, and the inevitable discontinuities have led to some evidence of the pupils failing to

meet the criteria of standards of society, for example in literacy or numeracy, the experiment is not only condemned but provokes a backlash to reinforce earlier educational practices. As has been seen in Britain recently, the whole debate is conducted in an atmosphere of partial information, ill-defined hypotheses, and misinformed conclusions which only reflect the discontinuities which were the cause of the original experimentation. And so, the cycle is completed but the social norms remain unchanged.

Educational structures are powerful influences on the patterns of development of a society but they cannot function in isolation from the other structures in which they are embedded. It is as well not to expect the impossible, nor to plant education in the vanguard of change. Clearly defined social philosophies with educational patterns which are consistent with them will be most effective.

Unfortunately, in the case of Kenya, the two philosophies, one of

"freedom from want, disease, ignorance and exploitation,
expansion of the economy with equitable sharing ... an
open society, local community initiative"

and the other of

"the recognition and reward of individual skill,
effort and initiative"

operate in contradiction to each other. The demands of economic growth and development, as interpreted by the Kenyan Government, make the latter philosophy of individual reward the dominant one. The resulting contradictions are inevitable.

CHAPTER 8

TANZANIA

Tanzania shares not only a border with Kenya, but also a colonial past.

"While there are important historical differences between Kenya and Tanzania ... they both inherited institutions and conditions tending towards the intensification and perpetuation of existing economic inequalities, while at the same time the achievement of independence had released popular expectations of social equality and improved welfare." (Court, 1976 : 661).

What makes a comparison of the two countries interesting is the radically different methods each has used to tackle the problems of growth and development in their society, problems which were initially of a similar nature.

Whereas in Kenya the response to inequalities and mal-distribution of resources has been to encourage rewards for self-help, and equality of opportunity to compete, in Tanzania the emphasis has been placed on redistribution, self-reliance and equal rights and responsibilities of individuals to share. Thus in Kenya the prevailing ethic is one of competition and in Tanzania, of cooperation.

The strong philosophical commitment underlying policy-making in Tanzania has been present since independence. There is a clear recognition of the constraints which poverty and an agriculturally-based economy place on the present, coupled with a view of society sharing and upholding values such as mutualism, egalitarianism and inter-personal respect. The policy of Education for Self-Reliance, (Nyerere, 1967) was an attempt to integrate the formal education system into the overall set of social values, re-shaping it so that there would be continuity between educational practices and outcomes, and the behaviours and attitudes seen to be fundamental to Tanzanian society. The need for a new policy sprang from a recognition that the education structures taken over at independence, which had largely

been left unchanged, were counter-productive in terms of Tanzanian social philosophy, emphasizing, as they did, competition and success in achievement, and leading to disproportionate rewards.

"... the educational system of Tanzania must emphasize cooperative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance ... (which) has no place in a society of equal citizens ... Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for." (Nyerere, 1968 : 273/6).

Education for Self-Reliance identified four major requirements; first, for a curriculum which would meet the needs of the majority in a predominantly rural, socialist society and could contribute towards its improvement; second, for education to be integrated with the community; third, for educational institutions to become economic and self-reliant communities and, in the process, to incorporate into the curriculum a respect and knowledge of manual work and production; fourth, to develop self-confidence, creativity, problem-solving and a scientific outlook as part of the learning process. Specific recommendations were made to help promote the policy. The entry age for school was to be raised to seven years and primary education was to be viewed as a seven-year terminal education, complete in itself and oriented towards agriculture. Examinations were to become less important in the selection process with teacher and pupil assessment being introduced and value and behavioural characteristics playing a part in the evaluation. Schools were to become productive farm units with pupils and teachers providing the work force, and the procedures being incorporated into the learning pattern. Political education was to have an important role in the curriculum.

Education for Self-Reliance and the TANU Directive on its implementation known as the Musoma Resolutions were an expression of a philosophical commitment and, although specific changes to educational practice were associated with them, or developed out of them, the statements themselves were more of an enunciation of values and expectations, than decision-making documents of a practical kind. President

Nyerere was criticising an area of Tanzanian society which he felt was not only crucial to its growth and development but which had been functioning in a manner that was discontinuous with the required development. Education for Self-Reliance was an exhortation to change with guidelines for the directions in which change should take place.

What advantages and disadvantages were present in the Tanzanian school system which would aid or inhibit the new policy? A coherent, well-articulated national ideology* emphasizing self-reliance, cooperation and equality is a strong force for mobilisation. However,

"attainment of political goals is simply made more difficult by the fact that many of the teachers expected to lead in the propagation of socialist values, themselves the products of training in an earlier period, do not believe much of what they are required to teach." (Court, 1976 : 679).

The vigorous pursuit of Swahili as a common language,

"the achievement of virtual self-sufficiency in pre-university teachers, the localisation of the syllabus content at all levels." (Court, 1973 : 585).

and a well-disciplined and extensive party apparatus which extends to the schools through the TANU Youth League, are all examples of positive integrative influences. But, as Court points out, while amounting to a major nationalisation of education, it is less certain that

"changes in the instructional setting contributes positively to the new social function intended for schools in Tanzania ... The achievement of a sense of cultural autonomy and of socialist commitment are not synonymous products although the first is probably a prerequisite for the second." (Ibid : 585).

Yet a further advantage was the uniformity of syllabi and materials to be found throughout the country, (von der Muhll, 1971 : 39/40), against which must be set questions of how appropriate were the content and more particularly the methods of the curricula to Tanzania's present condition and future intentions. While Tanzania had certain clear

* See, for example, The Arusha Declaration, Dar es Salaam, 1967, The Tanu Guidelines (Mwongozo) in Mbioni, vi, 8, Dar es Salaam, 1971 and Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Progress 1969/74, Dar es Salaam, 1969.

factors in its favour in its attempt to re-structure its education system, it can be seen that its most pressing advantage was its positive ideological commitment and the consistency it wished to impose between educational and socio-political values, attitudes and behaviours. These will now be examined in the light of the theoretical framework, together with the policy-decisions and resulting experience.

Participation

"For the people's equality must be reflected in the political organisation; everyone must be an equal participant in the government of his society."
(Nyerere, 1967 : 5).

"Every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level." (Ibid : 232).

"But ultimately socialism is only possible if the people as a whole are involved in the government of their political and economic affairs." (Ibid : 310).

"We must get to the position where every citizen plays an active and direct role in the government of his local community, at the same time as he plays a full role in the government of his own country." (Ibid : 325).

It can be seen from the above quotations that a notion of participation is integral to President Nyerere's concept of a democratic, socialist Tanzania. Furthermore, the notion has been practically implemented in such organisational structures as the ten-house cell, an administrative device at grass-roots level, to encourage cooperative and responsible local planning and decision-making. One of the advantages to be gained from grouping people into ujamaa villages was to be the opportunity for communal participation. This was seen not just as mutual responsibility for the land and the services in the village, but equally, responsibility for the decisions to be taken and implemented.

"Citizen participation is regarded as a fundamental component of the general strategy to ... achieve development." (Samoff, 1979 : 33).

The emphasis in the most recent policy documents is that the village should increasingly be involved in planning its own development.

"Because school and village are in intimate proximity the possibility of gearing school to actual village requirements is thereby created and the likelihood of strengthening village desire to take control of this process is correspondingly enhanced."
(Court & King, 1978 : 10).

It is clear that the participatory ethic is an integral one to Nyerere's notion of democracy and socialism. His frequent references to self-reliance activities are also very much in the context of the participatory ethic.

"It would be a mistake to work out the plans for a particular kind of farm ... or workshop, and then give these plans to the pupils saying, 'This is what you have to do'. If ... the problem and the challenge are put to the students at the very beginning ... they can be asked to elect representatives from each class on to a joint staff and student committee, which will work out the details and lay down the order and discipline of work." (Nyerere, 1968 : 412).

There is clearly a close relationship in Nyerere's mind between the self-respect and inter-personal respect which he feels every Tanzanian should have and the impetus which such respect can give to self-reliance activities and expectations. The model which he appears to be promoting for the individual would seem to look something like this:

I am a person ———>

I am competent to make a contribution ———>

I will join with others in mutually helpful activities ———>

I am enhanced as a person ...

At the same time, the social structures are encouraged to develop mechanisms for recognising the value and contribution of the individual to the group.

If this is a correct interpretation of the Tanzanian view of participation, and if Nyerere's assumption, basic to all educational developments in Tanzania, that the school's role in the socialisation of the child is crucial, how far is the model enacted in the school setting such as to encourage its internalisation in the pupils?

"What the teacher presents to the class is important ... but more important still is the question of how the teacher teaches." (Ibid : 227).

To this could be added the context in which the teaching takes place.

A careful reading of the research literature to emerge from Tanzania*

* See for example, Besha, M.R., Education for Self-Reliance and Rural Development, Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1973; Chamungwana, W.M.S., Socialisation Problems in Tanzania: An Appraisal of Education for Self-Reliance as a strategy for cultural transformation, University of Dar es Salaam; Hirji, K.J., School Education and under-development in

offers little support to the expectation that new policies for education have led to new practices in schools. On the contrary, Mbilinyi concludes

"relationships of dominance and submission have persisted despite the objective clearly stated in Education for Self-Reliance that the school should be organised in a democratic way with students sharing in fundamental decision-making about production and other school activities." (1977 : 60).

It is established that the schools quickly and enthusiastically adopted the suggestions for self-reliance activities to be implemented but they often did so in the same mode as they are accustomed to teach academic subjects, that is they supervised the work of the pupils and they assumed that the produce of the labour was theirs to dispose. Consequently,

"students say they go to the farm to work in the interests of teachers and Heads, not to learn to provide for their or the school's needs." (Ibid : 35).

How could the model outlined above be implemented in terms of the pupils' experience in schools? To feel a sense of personal worth and to develop a sense of the value of others, a child must be placed into an environment in which respect and acknowledgement is integral. The flow of respect from pupils to teacher is very much a part of the East African school setting. What appears to be lacking is the equivalent flow in the opposite direction, that is, the acknowledgement by the teacher of the individuality and value of his pupils. Without this, the pupils quickly learn the rules associated with submission and dominance, of which Mbilinyi speaks. To be successfully submissive, the pupil acknowledges to himself, if not overtly, his own inconsequence. Far from acquiring a habit of thinking I am a person, therefore I am competent to make a contribution, he is acquiring the habit of taking from the teacher his information, his cues, his responses, his pattern of behaviour. Court reports on his measurements of the relationship between secondary students' participation in Debating Societies and the TANU Youth League and social trust in an attempt to see if

Tanzania, in Maji Maji (Dar es Salaam), 12.9.1973; Lema, A.A., Education for Self-Reliance, Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam; Mahai, B.A.P., Tanzanian education policies, University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Adult Education Studies in adult education No. 23, Dec. 1975; Marye, B., Relevance of

participation in such activities increased a student's feelings of confidence and propensity to cooperate.

"The interesting conclusion from analysis is that the influential factor in predicting certain salient citizenship attitudes is not individual participation but the formal political atmosphere of the school." (1973: 589).

He continues,

"knowledge of the individual schools involved, suggests that a strong TYL is the most important among a number of ingredients of politicization. Other factors might be a vigorously socialist headmaster, contacts with the outside Party, self-help schemes within the school and nation building schemes outside it." (Ibid : 590).

What is being suggested is that the ethic of participation is acquired through constant exposure to a participatory environment in which participatory behaviours are required to be learnt and practised. What appears to be more common in Tanzania, is that the hierarchical structure of the school system, the authoritarian attitudes of those working within it, the reality of the opportunity ladder and its associated barriers, and a very real lack of resources, have led to a failure to identify, analyse and implement the kinds of behavioural changes which would encourage the application of theory to practice. For example, with the pressure to implement UPE 1977, untrained teachers or teachers with only two weeks' training have been used, often in temporary buildings with poor resources. (Mbilinyi, 1977 : 42/3). Under these circumstances, it is unreasonable to expect a teacher to do more than struggle to maintain his/her position and act in a way consistent with his, the pupils', and their families' norms. These norms inevitably reflect their previous experience of hierarchies, authoritarianism, etc., as outlined above. Furthermore, from a very close reading of Mwalimu (Teacher) Nyerere's speeches, together with comments such as

"in their evaluation of self-reliance activities, Party and government officials emphasize labour input and increased production rather than learning and student participation (if not control,)" (Ibid : 35)

educational objectives in the development of the curriculum, University of Dar es Salaam Studies in Education, No. 5; Mbilinyi, M.J., & Mwobahe, B.L., Challenge of Education for self-reliance in Tanzania, Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974; Mbilinyi, M.J., The Colonisation Process

there is an implication of a degree of paternalism in the promotion of what is considered right and best which perhaps sits uncomfortably with too enthusiastic participation (and control).

"Much of the research reviewed suggests that the very institutional forms ostensibly designed to foster participation have in fact precluded it." (Samoff, 1979 : 46).

Social Mobilisation

Attention was drawn in the previous chapter to the kind of changes required by a re-definition of the place of the school in society, in order to promote more than occupational mobility. In the context of Kenya, such changes were currently seen as being unlikely. In Tanzania, much thought and effort has gone into promoting these very changes.

The Second Five Year Plan (1969/74) proposed that the primary school should become a community educational centre serving

"the total education needs of the community rather than serving as a somewhat detached institution for the education of children."

This was followed by the Ministry of National Education proposal for Community Education Centres.

"These centres will be the hub of development in the village where formal and informal education for the young and the old will be fused into the life of the people. Education has no end and it will be the purpose of these centres to impart new ideas and improve on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the people ... There are two main areas of activity which ought to be provided for namely:

- (a) economic development by provision of technical, commercial and agricultural skills.
- (b) social development by provision of health and medical facilities, literacy programmes and libraries, recreational facilities as well as political and cultural programmes.

The proposal does not simply aim to develop new institutional forms, but to encourage the growth of a 'new type of community'." (Min. of Nat. Ed., 1973).

in our schools, Education Department, University of Dar es Salaam, June, 1975; together with the other articles quoted in this chapter.

It is clear from the pattern envisaged in the Proposals that encouragement is being given to the formation of a community which is self-reliant, and also where there is flexibility in the enactment of roles and interchangeability of functions and where responsibility and decision-making are mutually shared. The community should be in a position to define its own needs in terms of the curricula of the Centre, and to identify those of its members who can profitably contribute to its functioning. An exciting new conception of social organisation and consequent mobilisation is implicit in the plans put forward by the Ministry. Given such Centres, responsive to community needs and interests, how can the population fail to be socially mobilised not in the simple economic/role sense, but in the way in which it can respond to, use and develop the social, political and individual opportunities in the environment?

The Ministry of National Education also identified another pressing problem - the need to develop changes in curriculum and organisation which would reflect a higher evaluation of rural life since the greater majority of Tanzanians will remain in rural areas. To this end, a Diversification and Vocationalisation Programme was developed for secondary schools with the aim of teaching

"practical subjects like agriculture, commerce, home economics, crafts or technical skills. This aims at equipping students with better kind of knowledge than the theory oriented knowledge previously transmitted to them." (Annual Manpower Report, 1972 : 14).

It was hoped to identify schools with one particular bias out of four, technical, agricultural, commercial and domestic science and a few multi-bias schools with the intention of providing vocational training in addition to the academic programme so that pupils completing such a secondary education would have immediately applicable, practical skills which would be useful in their own areas.

Attention has already been drawn to the need for changes in three areas in order to facilitate social mobilisation. The three areas were community/school relations, educational relevance, and the training of teachers. Details have been given of the decisions taken by the Government of Tanzania in order to promote their own solutions to the problems of change in the relationship between school and

community, with concomitant change in functions and roles and of change in educational content and organisation towards a pattern of education more relevant to Tanzanian society. It is in reviewing their lack of success in tackling the problem of teacher education that the seeds of their difficulties in the implementation of the other two programmes can be found.

Teachers in Tanzania are amongst the 1.5% of the population in professional and administrative occupations. They are also civil servants and, as such, subject to re-direction of both job and place of work. (Dubbeldam, 1970; 73/81 and Morrison, 1976). Further, many teachers leave the profession to find higher rewards in government and parastatal organisations. Given this situation, there is little incentive on teachers or teacher-educators to re-define the teaching role or the role and function of schooling. On the contrary, the teachers, as the parents, see that the

"major determinant of getting work is the amount of formal education an individual has acquired ... more income, more fringe benefits, a bigger house, better health services and greater prestige."
(Nwobahe & Mbilinyi, 1974 : 2).

Under these circumstances as in Kenya, each successive stratum of the educational system is trapped into the service of the next, controlled by the assessment procedures and the pressure to provide successful candidates. In a system under great pressure to expand, teachers are under-trained and frequently inappropriately trained. Posted away from their home areas, often with little practice teaching behind them, large classes and poor resources and possibly teaching subjects for which they were not trained to a level for which they were not prepared, under some or all of these circumstances, it is irrelevant to ask teachers to re-assess their role or the role of schooling. But it is also noticeable that the Ministry of National Education which could be responsible for such a re-assessment and indeed could issue directives to Head teachers and their staffs and could support their directives by changing the conditions for promotion, salary increases, access to in-service training, and so on, has gone no further than issuing exhortations and declaring policies. The policies are themselves falling prey to the same problems.

An examination of the policy on Community Education Centres, for example, finds criticisms of its execution. One such criticism relates to the detail and form of bureaucratic structure which is suggested for the running of a Community Education Centre. Much care is taken in spelling out the various committees and their inter-relationships without equivalent care being expended on such important issues as policy making, the role of the school, how it is to fulfil such a role, and so on. The Head of the school is entrusted with the responsibility of identifying community needs and arranging for the provision of instruction. This places him in a crucial position in respect to both the teachers and the members of the community, a position which does not necessarily promote the kind of participation and cooperation on which success is dependent. Also, as Head of the former primary school he might well be unable or unwilling to carry this responsibility.

As with the Community Education Centres Programme, so with the secondary diversification programme, of which criticisms of the practice of the policy are to be found.

"It appears as if the secondary diversification programme is oriented toward preparation of persons selected through competitive examinations (Standard VII) to take more examinations (Form IV). The specialisations are not linked to actual productive work in the school or the community. Moreover, the relationship between the goals of the diversification programme and manpower planning is unclear." (Ibid : 27).

Questions have been raised, such as the following which were asked at a Workshop on Education held at the Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam:

1. "What is the basis of recruitment to different 'biases'?"

To some extent, the diversification programme looks like the organisation in the United Kingdom after the 1944 Education Act, of the tri-partite system, grammar, technical and modern although in Tanzania the intent does not appear to be based on intellectual criteria. Only 5% of the primary school leavers obtain a secondary place. However, any attempt to classify children for secondary entrance, whether by ability or aptitude, not only appears to be subject to a high level of error but also has a restrictive and distorting effect on the curriculum of the primary school. Given their resource constraints,

the Tanzanians appear to have been unable to construct a method of secondary recruitment which is consistent with their philosophy. If they have such a method, they have not revealed it to those engaged in education or questions such as the one above would not be asked. The policy of diversification may then be distorted by the lack of means of implementation.

2. "How will the products of the different biases be allocated?"

On this question will depend the recruitment potential and consequent status of single bias schools. There appears to be little attempt to plan coherently for secondary school and other training output in terms of diversification and to look at the requirements of a particular region in deciding which bias to favour and how to employ their leavers. And yet, the diversification programme has been presented as one method of retaining young people in the rural areas with skills that these areas require.

3. "How is information about the new policy being given to the public? to teachers? teacher educators? curriculum developers?"

The role of communication agencies would appear to be fundamental to political development in general and social mobilisation in particular. Such agencies have the function of clarifying roles and information to enable members of a society to learn and practise social relationships, including those of power, in the context of social order. (See Pye, 1963). Information dissemination is consequently at the heart of social mobilisation since the availability, storage and use of information has a crucial impact on the provision, means and the use of the factors promoting mobilisation. A society with a high level of social mobilisation is therefore one in which the members of that society have access to and make use of a wide range of information. Indeed, this is one reason given for the resources expended on literacy programmes.

"The importance of adult education in promoting economic and social development is unquestionable."
(Min. of Community Dev. and National Culture, undated).

More especially is the flow of information important where a high value is also being placed on participation. It appears somewhat surprising, therefore, that a conference of teachers, teacher educators and curriculum developers organised jointly by the Institute of Education

and the Department of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam should be querying such basic policy issues as criteria for recruitment, relationship between school graduates and work opportunities and dissemination of information on the policy of secondary diversification. If those professionally engaged with the implementation, indeed the derivation, of policies are raising such questions, the general level of information to the public must be lower still.

The conclusion would appear to be that the philosophical and policy-making momentum in Tanzania is not in close enough contact with practice and needs in the schools and communities and that attempts are made to replace contact with exhortation or externally financed pilot projects which themselves appear out of context with the rest of Tanzanian development. For example, there are four pilot community education centres in Dodoma region, financed by UNESCO and each constructed at a cost most villages could not afford. There is the Kibaha project financed by the Swedish Government. Despite, therefore, the strong commitment to participation and social mobilisation, the realities of organisation appear to be a promotion of bureaucratic structures which superimpose a project or plan on a community. Samoff pointed out that

"government by the experts precludes participation."
(1979 : 49).

What would appear to be necessary, if there is to be consistency between theory and practice, is to help each community to identify its own needs and develop the structures to meet them. This, in itself, is subject to the difficulty that self-help community development, such as, for example, through ujamaa villages is very recent in Tanzania. And yet there is evidence to suggest that

"genuine self initiation works best when sponsorship is nongovernmental and when external resource inputs are kept at a relatively low level." (Evans, 1977 : 26).

Vulnerability

It is very clear from all his speeches and writing that President Nyerere's conception of vulnerability is precise and tied very closely to his justification for the building of a socialist, democratic Tanzania.

"It is an expression of belief that man can only

live in harmony with man, and can only develop to his full potential as a unique individual, in a society the purpose of which is Man, which is based on the principles of human equality, and which is so organised as to emphasize both man's equality and his control over all the instruments of his life and development." (1968 : 22).

Exploitation, poverty, inequalities, have all been the subject of frequent condemnation by Nyerere. His avowed intention is to build a society in which the vulnerability of man is reduced to the minimum possible. To accomplish this, in the first instance, he has set a tone for Tanzania which is condemnatory of many of the aspects of Kenyan society which increase vulnerability. For example, all forms of corruption, or even of excessive 'show' which might indicate unfair gains, are the subject of heavy condemnation. A ceiling has been placed on earnings (TANU Guidelines, 1971) in order to reduce the gap between maximum and minimum wage earners, standing at 8% in 1977. A leadership code stipulates the acceptable behaviours for those in positions of influence and, in particular, limits their rewards and privileges. By methods such as these, the ethic of service to society is pressed at every opportunity.

Nonetheless it would be foolish to suggest that Tanzanian society is not a highly vulnerable one. As an agriculture-dependent country, it is dominated by the effects of the seasons and, because of this, has a conservative peasantry who cannot afford to experiment with their subsistence. At the same time, there are sections of the farming community, particularly for example in the Kilimanjaro Region, which are noticeably wealthier both individually and as communities. As a result, these regions are better served with schools, hospitals and other facilities which increase their quality of life. The populations in these wealthier regions have, over a period, established an advantageous position which can be traced through every aspect of Tanzanian society and such government action as the channelling of investment resources into rural development does not seriously infringe their position.*

* For an extensive treatment of this theme, see Samoff (1979).

Maldistribution of resources and opportunities invokes vulnerability in the disadvantaged sectors of society.

When it comes to an examination of the school system, evidence of vulnerability abounds.

"Teachers and Heads complain of being 'tools' of the Ministry. They lack control over what to teach." (Mbilini, 1977 : 21).

"There is is increasing popular protest about alleged unfairness in selection to secondary school." (Ibid : 27).

and children are being sent from one region to another in order to have access to secondary schools. (O'Connor, 1974 : 71). The author was also told of a procedure whereby students moved region and changed tribal name in order to gain an educational place. This type of manipulation for educational places is not peculiar to Tanzania. Epstein in discussing South India, reports

"Wangala graduates and undergraduates secured their university places by virtue of belonging to the 'backward' peasant caste." (1973 : 190).

Pupils are vulnerable to the competition which dictates movement from one part of the school system to the next, to the inadequacies and insecurities of the teachers which can cause poor knowledge transmission and leads to authoritarian teaching methods, to the form of schooling which is distinct and separate from the rest of their patterns of living and to their inability to use what education they have received in their work.

"It is common to find teachers frequently skipping classes, not concerned about completing the syllabus, not bothered about correcting homework, etc. Let alone any nationalistic or socialistic commitment, even the commitment of a conscientious teacher towards his pupils is becoming a rare phenomenon." (Hirji, quoted in Court, 1976 : 676).

Besha has documented the reactions of pupils to the introduction of agricultural work and political education in schools. (1973). She reports that the former is seen as a way of making money, a reduction of the cost of schooling to the Government, and sometimes a way of providing additional revenue or goods to the teaching staff. The teachers are untrained in agriculture and the activities are not integrated into the school curriculum or the rural environment. The parents dismiss it as a waste of time. The pupils see themselves as

being used as cheap labour. The attitudes to political education are not basically different in that it is seen as being a school-related activity the purpose of which is to learn the rhetoric but not to apply the knowledge.

"Didactic styles of teaching, authoritarian and hierarchical relationships, and bureaucratic styles of work provide a standing contrast to the ideals of cooperation, participation, and democracy." (Court, 1976 : 678).

Political Development and Adult Education

As in Kenya, so in Tanzania, there has been an interesting development outside the formal school system, which has incorporated much of the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance. One example is the programmes for adult education begun in 1969, and conducted through mass study radio campaigns. They involve study groups being formed where there is access to a radio receiver, a basic text-book reader and a regular radio programme which is transmitted over some weeks. There have been five such programmes:

1. basic economic planning - Kupanga ni Kuchagua
2. understanding government (in preparation for the 1970 election) - Uchaguzi ni wako
3. analysing ten years of independence - Wakati wa Furaha
4. man is health - Mtu ni Afya
5. nutrition and food production - Chakula ni Uhai.

The Man is Health Campaign was reported upon by Hall in his paper "Participation and Education in Tanzania." (1975). Of the three objectives for the campaign, only one was dominated by content. The first related to socialisation, and the third linked this campaign to the national literacy campaign by providing follow-up materials and the opportunity to use newly acquired skills. The three objectives were:

- "1. To increase participants' awareness of and to encourage group action on measures which groups and individuals can take to make their lives healthier.
2. To provide information about the symptoms and prevention of specific disease.

3. For those who had participated in the national literacy campaign, to encourage the maintenance of newly acquired reading skills by providing suitable follow-up materials." (Ibid : 10).

"The pattern which was most often followed by groups during the campaign was as follows:

1. Assemble during the gathering time;
2. Listen to the 20 minute radio programme;
3. The group leader or someone in the group who can, reads aloud the appropriate section of the text;
4. Discussion begins first with the question of the relevance of the material presented to the actual circumstances of the group's members;
5. Discussion takes place about various persons' experience with the disease, alternative causes of the disease and possible ways of preventing it;
6. Resolutions are made and agreed upon by the group for specific actions which could be implemented in the village;
7. During the ensuing week - before the next programme - the resolutions are carried out by the group members and, most likely, others in the village." (Ibid : 12/13).

All three of the criteria for political development are present in this organisational form. First, the participatory ethic is crucial to the formation and functioning of the groups. Group members come together voluntarily, and stay together because of what they are gaining and giving to the experience. The group members are mutually dependent, the group leader usually being so by virtue of literacy. Although the programmes have specific knowledge content, the discussion within the group determines in what way that knowledge content can be understood and applied by the participants. This is very close to the model for the teaching of literacy devised by Freire with

"education as a cultural action by means of which the Brazilian people could learn, in place of the old passivity, new attitudes and habits of participation and invention." (1974 : 38).

The action taken upon the new knowledge, whether it was the clearing of unhealthy vegetation or the consideration and construction of better sanitation conditions, placed the participants in control of their own

learning and connected that learning to their environment and life-styles. At the same time, a new form of learning became available to the estimated 2 million adults who participated as study group members (approximately one quarter of the total adult population). These are all requirements which lead to the growth of social mobilisation. Finally, the method of learning, the manner of organisation and the form of participation all led to control by the participants over aspects of their own health and community welfare and over their access to new information. This decreases their vulnerability. In every way, therefore, the campaign could be said to contribute to the objectives stated by President Nyerere in Education for Self-Reliance and consistent with the framework presented here.

Another example of adult education which attempts to link a knowledge function with a social/economic development function is that conducted by the Cooperative Movement. Although their course materials are content-based and related to subjects of relevance to cooperative members and staff, such as book-keeping, store-keeping and management, the focus of their activities is on the development of the rural area through increasing the efficiency and distribution of cooperative societies. Consequently, much emphasis is placed on creating the structures for cooperative endeavour and making available the means to use these structures. One method that has been developed is to send correspondence material in the form of instructional booklets to committee groups for discussion. The results of the discussion are returned to the Cooperative Education Centre, and then sent back to the group with comments. The Centre also runs training courses for leaders or 'contact men', one of whose functions is to encourage the setting up of study groups.

"Organisation building requires primarily an increasing consciousness of the need for cooperation for causes which lie beyond man's own immediate interests." (Hyden, 1974 : 49).

In general,

"the evidence... indicates that the increased emphasis on adult education is directly related to the new socialist direction to which Tanzania is committed ... the factor which has led Tanzania above all African nations to place adult education in high priority, is the necessity of having increased participation by the people in their own development." (Hall, 1975 : 132/3).

Unfortunately, these developments in adult education campaigns are

only a small part at the present time of the total expenditure on education in Tanzania but their existence is a signal for one way of providing consistency of objective and practice.

"Planners must internalise the realisation that the primary goal of education is to assist the majority of citizens to participate meaningfully in the life of the nation." (Evans, 1977 : 49).

With the organisation of a new and indigenous method of dealing with specific educational problems among the adult population, Tanzania has shown itself to be effective in the implementation of its philosophy. Clearly, high levels of participation in one or two campaigns do not indicate radical and rapid alterations in the behaviour and understandings of large numbers of peasants. It would be unreasonable to expect this. But the commitment and continuity of involvement of large numbers of people even in one campaign indicates that its content and organisation is seen by them to be relevant to their needs and, as such, it is likely to encourage growing involvement and a consequent gradual change in behaviours and attitudes. Tanzania has provided one sign that it is possible to create structures which meet the philosophical demands. Consequent changes in the development of Tanzanian man, socialist and self-reliant, cooperative, healthy, hard working, responsible and participatory, may only be observed over a much longer period.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This study has proposed a model of political development constructed along three dimensions, participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. The three dimensions figure prominently in the values and philosophy of decision-makers whether in industrialised or developing states, rich or poor, capitalist or socialist. The model provided an opportunity to compare what appeared to be a widespread commitment to political development, as described, with the practice and experience of one of the major socialising instruments in society, the educational system.

Two areas which feature prominently in the literature of political development are ethnicity and modernisation. The existence of ethnic minorities in nation states is not only a concern of newer nations but is widespread as, for example, in Belgium (French/Walloon), Canada (French/English), the United States of America (Afro/European) and Great Britain. (See Wirt, 1979). In Great Britain, society has always been constructed on a multi-ethnic basis, from the integration of the early Kingdoms, the Angles, Jutes and Saxons, right up to the present mix of Asian, African, Caribbean and European. Ethnic problems in the USSR have also received some publicity recently. The problems which multi-culturalism presents were briefly discussed in Chapter 4 and showed themselves to be amenable to analysis using the model of political development. The notion of modernisation as it is explored in the literature was also briefly discussed in Chapter 5 and, again, the model was used to structure the discussion. These two concepts which are frequently explored in independent discussion in the literature have been used to demonstrate the flexibility of the model of political development and to emphasise the inter-relationship with education. This inter-relationship has received too little attention from either political scientists or educationists. The model has provided the means whereby the inter-relationship can be exposed and analysed.

The educational system is not viewed in this study as an independent variable which can, through its own activities, affect the economic or social growth of society. Although some studies (Schultz, 1964; Carnoy, 1974; Emmerij, 1974) have shown high correlations between, for example, schooling and earning power, and schooling and industrialisation, these analyses appear to reflect the differentiation and advancement system which states have adopted to meet their own demands for growth and the promotion of individuals. If, in a society, a university education is the means whereby an individual obtains a higher status position, and consequently a higher salary, then as long as this is the socio/economic norm, schooling and earning power must be inter-dependent. Likewise, highly industrialised states, like the United States, have developed extensive systems of public and private education. Much wealth has been accumulated by the society and by individuals and it appears to some that education has been the crucial variable in this growth. The development of complex technological techniques in the engineering industry is a good example of the poverty of this argument. Computerised techniques, for example, require skilled operators whose productivity is increased in both quality and quantity. These skills are not yet learnt at school. Industry gains, and the gross national product gains, and the individuals concerned gain. But the number of people employed falls and the position of those who might otherwise have been gainfully employed can actually worsen. The average gain consequently hides a maldistribution amongst individuals, all of whom might have had an equivalent schooling. Some commentators have talked of the 'drip-down' effect of such advances in industrialisation. As the overall wealth of a society increases, even where that wealth is centred in a small geographical and/or social area, it is not unreasonable to assume that those who are not directly associated with the generation of the wealth will, nonetheless, gain some benefits. But the benefits are as a result of changes in the economic or technical organisation and not as a result of the educational system. On the contrary, the educational system appears to act as a selector rather than as a promoter for opportunities. And the 'drip' is also highly selective. While Nairobi is a modern, flourishing capital city, many parts of the countryside not many miles away have no piped water. The children in these areas might well go to school for a few years, but the impact of industrialisation and its relationship to the schooling of the

children is not obvious.

Education is, then, regarded here as only one of the agencies within a society which has an impact on political development. However, that does not diminish its importance. On the contrary, because it is one agent of the socio-economic system, the consistency of its messages with those of the other socio-economic agencies, becomes an indicator of its likely impact on political development. Hence, education is seen as crucial by some and a failure by others.

The aim of this study was to investigate the relationship between the educational system and political development. This relationship was explored by proposing a model of political development which could then be used to look at the messages of the manifest curriculum and compare these with the practices and values of the hidden curriculum. This need for such comparisons is emphasised by the findings of Pettigrew and Pajonas. After reviewing the

"empirical data and theoretical considerations
drawn from a variety of related research realms"

they concluded:

"the more comparable the learning situation is with
the performance situation, the better the later
retention and performance." (1973 : 87/8).

The concept of the hidden curriculum was invoked in order to identify those aspects of the educational experience which are frequently unspecified but which pertain to the political development of the student. The argument was advanced that the schooling experience is, for many pupils, only partially a cognitive experience: that what they are learning indirectly at school has a greater impact on their political development, possibly more particularly because the learning is indirect, than has been recognised by most decision-makers. There is, also, an impact by the hidden curriculum on attitudes, values and behaviours related to particular disciplines. So, the hidden curriculum is seen as being a complex network through which the pupils learn about learning, learn to evaluate and manipulate the learning experience as it evaluates and manipulates them and, most importantly, learn to relate their experiences in school to the adult world of which they are soon to become a part.

What are the pupils learning from the hidden curriculum? What is

its content? What are its methods of transmission? As with the manifest curriculum, it is possible to specify these and, more importantly, to have them specified by those working within the educational system. The content of the hidden curriculum is divisible into two sections, the subject-based content and the political development content. For the purpose of this study, the subject-based content has not been studied although it might well influence some of the political development learning. An example of mathematics-based learning from the hidden curriculum would be, whilst learning to apply a rule correctly, at the same time learning that it is unnecessary to understand the derivation or wider, contextual applications. Another mathematics-based example would be learning that every mathematics example is only amenable to the solution proposed by the teacher. Yet a further example was given by an Infants' School which has been following a particular mathematics scheme in which the children were shown always to set out their arithmetic horizontally. When confronted with a vertical presentation of addition, they not only could not execute it satisfactorily but thought that it had not been taught. They had not learnt to add, they had learnt 'horizontal addition'.

However, at the same time as the teacher believes that, for example, a mathematics lesson is in progress, and the pupils are engaged in doing mathematical exercises, it is the contention of this study that a wide range of content is being presented through the hidden curriculum, content that is directly relevant to political development. Pupils are learning to fit in with the educational system and conform to its demands even when these involve exceptional behavioural responses. They are learning that their learning is externally controlled by the actions and reactions of the teachers and, indeed, that their own inner drive to understand or respond creatively must frequently be repressed in the interests of the timetable, the constraints of the assigned task, the forthcoming examination or simply the requirements of the teacher. In essence, whatever the overt content of the lessons, during most school hours pupils are learning that a recipe for school success involves avoiding intellectual risks, following the rules and conforming to system demands and confining their energies to the memorising of required information and techniques.

"So many students ... develop competencies without

affect or delight. They get their rewards from grades ... and not from the excitement of working through the idea in the paper ... Twenty years later such students are vulnerable, with their narrow range of supports for their self-esteem. Their brittleness may well persist, since they are dependent on society's equivalent of grades." (Snyder, 1971 : 120).

However, as the study has pointed out, conformity, rule-following, ossified knowledge, stereotyping, are all decried by educational decision-makers as well as educationalists in most states. Further, if the learning from the hidden curriculum is as effectively internalised as teachers hope the manifest curriculum to be, the application of this learning outside the school reinforces the opposite behaviours, attitudes and values to those regarded as most useful to the individual and society. Where participation is being urged as socially beneficial, and where, in many states, opportunities for greater participation are being demanded by sections of the population, children at school are learning to accept the implications of non-participatory authority. Far from gaining experience of the responsibilities and implications of participation, they are being shielded from these experiences and, simultaneously taught to accept without question the dictates and decisions of those with power and authority over them. The rights of participation are frequently demanded. Less frequently heard is a discussion of the responsibilities of participation. These responsibilities and their related skills and techniques are teachable and learnable. Beginning with self-responsibility, and learning to cooperate, the skills of participation may be slowly introduced and reinforced in the growing child as he develops and extends his knowledge and understanding of the world around him. The five-year-old learns to tie his shoe laces, the eight-year-old learns to care for younger siblings, the ten-year-old learns to cope with and extend the responses of friendship, the twelve-year-old begins to be involved in family and personal decision-making, the fourteen-year-old in many societies is becoming a member of the adult, working population. Much of what the child is learning about participation is through his extra-school activities. In school, his experience is contradicting what he knows to be the pattern outside. At the least this introduces unnecessary confusion. At the worst, the additional message can be received through the hidden curriculum that success lies in the

direction taken by the school, through self-interested and conforming behaviours, attitudes of competition and manipulation, values associated with extrinsic motivation (by reward and punishment), status quo knowledge and beliefs and dependency.

As with participation, so with social mobilisation, the experience inside the school is frequently contradictory to the experience in society generally. The school can act consistently or inconsistently with mobilisation aims. By generating an understanding and appreciation of the environmental opportunities and helping young people to analyse these in terms of their own aspirations and possibilities, the school would be increasing the social mobilisation potential of its pupils. However, the high value placed through the hidden curriculum on paper qualifications and white collar employment, as reflected in the academic manifest curriculum, supports an alternative view: that the rewards to be gained from successful completion of schooling are attached to certain desirable occupations usually based in urban areas.

Inevitably, the school becomes a highly vulnerable institution for all concerned. In all the ways described in this study, parents, teachers, administrators and pupils suffer from their own vulnerability on the personal and organisational levels. Children are highly vulnerable to methods of teaching which ignore developmental levels, aptitudes and abilities. Learning for these children may become a dreary round of recitation and/or failure in understanding. School becomes further and further dissociated from reality, and simultaneously the self-image of the child deteriorates. Teachers are equally vulnerable to the need to appear in control of their subject content, and in control of their classes. (See Delamont, 1976). They frequently work in isolation from colleagues which affords privacy to develop relations with their pupils, privacy to be experimental or individual in the way in which the curriculum is implemented but also imposes distance between them and what could prove a valuable source of resources and support, the rest of the staff. The pupils project on to their teachers expectations of 'expertness' which many know they neither could, nor should, justify. Questions or demands from pupils can then be a source of extreme challenge to which the teacher can only respond by withdrawal, closure, or insistence on conformity. All will provoke negative feelings in the pupil, not only to the subject

matter under discussion but to the learning process and the degree to which it is the pupil's or the teacher's. What should be an opportunity for growth and development, may become an intellectual and, sometimes, physical battleground in which pupils and teachers are manoeuvring for tactical advantages. This is often justified outside the classroom by those who say that life is a battleground and the sooner children learn to cope with it the better prepared they will be. This is acknowledgement of the impact of the hidden curriculum and is, indeed, an assertion of how paramount is its role. Children have to learn to cope with the pressures of organised society. They also have to learn how to be flexible and even creative in the social context. The conclusion of this study is not only that they are learning a great deal through the hidden curriculum, but that because it is hidden, the learning is frequently inappropriate and inconsistent with the expressed social philosophy and directions.

The hidden curriculum - a positive approach

As a result of the present study, it would appear that in order to ensure that learning which can effect political development is positively related to social needs and values, the hidden curriculum needs to be exposed and evaluated in terms of those needs and values. The model of political development has been proposed as a tool to facilitate this process. Four aspects of the educational system can be used positively for their input to the hidden curriculum in terms of increased participation and social mobilisation, and decreased vulnerability. These four aspects are the structures, the curriculum, teacher education and adult education. The U.K. Ministry of Overseas Development also drew attention to the curriculum, the teachers and adult education as three main ways through which educational policy can serve economic and social ends. (1970 : para. 46). Each will now be examined and suggestions made in the light of the model.

Educational structures

In discussing the growth of educational structures it is important to recall the change in paradigm to which attention has been drawn earlier. For example, both Kenya and Tanzania display highly centralised structures related historically to their colonial background and the dominance of a social/structural view. Even though the British education system presents a much more decentralised model with a large measure of

autonomy resting with local authorities focus is still on institutions. For example, one authority, the Kent County Council, proposed to implement an experimental education voucher scheme which was opposed by the Minister for Education and Science, as well as by the teacher unions. Although this proposal was only possible because of decentralisation to local administrative control, it was certainly not an example of local control. The decision to go ahead with the scheme was taken in the name of the local inhabitants but with no substantial evidence of their support. Indeed, the decision was later reversed after a change in party control at a local election at which the issue featured prominently.

The change in paradigm from institutional structures to the needs and interests of individuals and the local community indicates that the existence of decentralised structures is insufficient. They must be of a form which enables local decision making to be responsive.

"Decentralisation has to be more than the downward extension of hierarchical authority for more effective bureaucratic control. Instead it has to provide an interlocking opportunity for village, ward, district and regional participation within the overall problem framework."
(Court and Kinyanjui, 1978).*

Participatory structures can be encouraged. For example, starting from the observed need to involve parents and teachers more directly in the running of the school, in 1973 the Inner London Education Authority provoked a widespread change in participation. They decided to require the election of one teacher-representative and one parent-representative onto the Managing or Governing Body of each primary and secondary school. One representative of parents and one of teachers appeared to be most insubstantial and yet the requirements meant that, for many schools, for the first time teachers and parents were required to organise and choose someone who could represent their point of view. What appeared to some to be a very small concession in the direction of participation, in many cases caused fundamental changes in the school.

* A full discussion of the implications of regionalism and decentralisation for educational policy is to be found in this paper.

Other structural changes could link the school with local needs and local decision-making. Within the school, decision-making could be approached as a responsibility for all, including pupils where they are of an age to understand the implications and responsibilities.

"Policy should ... be decided by those most directly affected by it. Important decisions should therefore be taken only after full, free and informal discussions ... If such a procedure were followed, all members of the school community might more readily accept an obligation to help carry out and enforce those decisions. (Coulson, 1978 : 71).

Time could be set aside to enable meetings of teachers, pupils, parents and local people and such regular meetings could be a requirement of the running of the school.

The power, responsibility and relevant training of the head teacher may be questioned. Is that role best filled by a promoted teacher? Structurally, schools could adopt the practice of many university departments and elect or appoint in rotation a school Chairperson from the staff to be the administrative head for a stipulated period of time. Alternatively, the teaching promotion ladder could move from individual classroom teacher to subject or educational leader in an area, to in-service trainer or resource development officer. At present it leads through deputy head to head teacher and thus loses the teaching skills which the promotion is acknowledging in favour of the application of administrative skills for which the teacher is untrained. Perhaps educational administrator could be introduced. This would distinguish between the administration of the school and the educational decision-making. Such a distinction already operates in some University Departments.

The intention of all these tentative suggestions is to re-examine educational structures for their participatory possibilities since this would reflect human needs and values. Structural changes which support such participation then follow naturally and logically, theoretically at least. The structural framework is a reflection of and a response to changing behaviour and attitudes.

Equally, participatory structures can be established within the classroom to ensure that, as they are developmentally ready, so the children learn to exert responsibility for themselves, for cooperation and communicating with others and for exercising informed choice. Since the implementation of such structures will be in the hands of the teachers, this aspect will be re-examined under both curriculum and teacher education. However, it is clear that every school could be required to establish and support pupil councils, that mechanisms for enabling pupils to be aware of the important issues within the school could be suggested or even required, and time made available for regular discussion and debate of such issues. If a curriculum in political education exists or is being proposed, such discussions and debates could link with the wider societal issues as part of that curriculum.

Educational structures which facilitate social mobilisation would be forged through patterns of interaction within the school and between school and community in which members of the community are seen to play a functional role in the school, as the school does in the community. This requires institutionalised patterns of communication so that, for example, as in Tanzania, Standard 7 pupils and teachers are used in adult literacy programmes, and members of the community come into schools to teach craft, folk dance, carpentry, agriculture or health. In Britain, it was not until the implementation of the ROSLA programme that many schools began to integrate their work with the opportunities in the community and this form of integration has not permeated through the rest of the school system. However, social mobilisation is a function of information and opportunity, and school and community could organise to make these more available to pupils. The identification, collection, use and analyses of information is the most crucial contribution that the school can make to the social mobilisation of its pupils. Much current school practice presents information in a pre-packaged and inert form. Structural changes demand an altered view of the

function and role of information as well as a more precise appreciation of the opportunities available in the community. In two recent articles, Dove has underlined that

"development work ... for the unsupported teacher can be onerous, noisy, and isolative." (1979 : 24).

Further, she pointed out that

"if what (the schools) have to offer is antithetic to, or seen as useless by the individual or his community, they will be largely ineffective in promoting change." (1980 : 69).

The inert hand of external examinations can remove from a school the impetus to creativity and the imaginative use of the environment. Possibilities for experimentation are killed by the knowledge that it is not on the syllabus or will not be in the examination. There is an urgent need for the development of socially acceptable forms of assessment which allow pupils to classify themselves according to their interests and aptitudes and society to be assured of meeting its requirements. Tanzania has gone a little way along this road in introducing continuous assessment and character assessment into its selection programmes but the external examination still dominates the primary/secondary change. In terms of opportunity, this is the crucial one for Tanzanian children. Likewise in Britain, although the abandoning of the eleven plus examination removed a formal obstacle at the primary/secondary change over, which school a child attends still has a crucial impact on his later opportunities and attitudes. That decision is made by the local educational authorities with very little contact with parents, and on an allocative principle which is only partially explained publically. Since selection is something which is life-chance affecting, there is a strong argument for making it relevant and visible and for defining its terms relating them closely to its objectives. The predictive power of external examinations is constantly challenged. There would appear to be a strong argument for development of assessment procedures which are on-going and personal to the pupil and combining them with selective procedures which are related to the purpose of the next phase of education. The extension of this argument is for a structure of general education in the early years of schooling to which all children have access, which is terminal, and which is free to develop curricula and organisational innovations which reflect the needs and practices

of the local community. This could be followed by specific schooling in the later years geared to particular occupations for those pupils, interested and deemed suitable. This is very similar to the pattern of development in Tanzania at the present time but the selection system in Tanzania is still based on personal criteria as measured by the schools rather than occupational suitability criteria developed to suit the occupational demands. If first schooling is seven years, second schooling would then only require to be three or four years and, starting when the pupil was already old enough to make an informed choice, could be more practical and technical in content. It is arguable whether a formal, academic education, produces academics and would seem to be equally arguable that postponing academic education until a tertiary level would allow students the time for maturity of intellect, judgment and knowledge which would be most beneficial to all concerned.

Tertiary level education could profitably be postponed until students had some experience of working, and preferably some experience of working in a field related to the course they are interested in studying. If selection at this level were then based on assessed achievement over the primary and secondary level, together with work experience and personal profile, the tertiary courses would benefit from highly motivated and interested students and the students from their level of maturity. Such a programme has been undertaken, for example, in Tanzania where a scheme of non-direct entry to the University has been in operation since 1978. Although little can yet be said of the scheme, in 1976, the Faculty of Medicine did compare the performance of maturer students with direct entry students. The study apparently gave grounds for optimism about the performance of the non-direct intake. (Williams, 1976).

What are the structures which lend themselves to a reduction in vulnerability? First, they must reflect open decision-making. That is, for decreased vulnerability, people need to know how decisions are made, what information is required, and how they can have access to the process. Closed decision-making might induce security in those participating in it, but it makes for high vulnerability in those outside. Second, they must be precise in terms of structural regularities and expectations. This is particularly so in the case of schools, where adults are inclined to leave the organisation to be imbibed by osmosis rather than reducing the pupils' anxiety by clarifying all the little details which worry them. Finally, they should be de-mystified so that the educational process can be seen for what it is and function clearly and efficiently with close cooperation between all concerned in the welfare of the pupils, including the pupils themselves. It is only

by feeling involved in, and responsible for, their own learning that control over that learning can be achieved. Otherwise the manipulative possibilities of the schooling can take over, and learning becomes conformity to demands. Vulnerability is then a persistent feature of the classroom for both pupils and teacher. Cicourel and Kitsuse's study showed

"that the organisation and methods of the school system can have an impact on the individual's later career. By defining a pupil according to particular criteria and then fitting the pupil into a category, the school acts as a validating agent for the student's future occupational opportunities and careers." (1963 : 19)

To understand how to induce control of learning in pupils is an essential component of teaching and reference will be made again to this aspect in the section on teacher education. From the point of view of the hidden curriculum, however, developing control over their own learning extends to developing control over their environment and could be the most important development to take place in young people during their years of school. All the aspects of politically developed members of society to which decision-makers frequently draw attention*, flexibility, creativity, problem-solving ability, and so on, are dependent upon the confidence, imagination and skills with which learning control is exercised.

The curriculum

If the hidden curriculum is to be exposed, then a mechanism for so doing requires the use of the overt, or manifest curriculum to ensure that values, attitudes and behaviours consistent with increasing participation and social mobilisation and decreasing vulnerability are embedded in the learning content. Castle writes,

"If administrators and education planners are seeking to use the curriculum as an instrument of reform then our concept of 'the curriculum' must be enlarged to embrace not only 'subjects' but the total range of activity and human relationships in the school." (1972 : 125).

* For example, "The Government feels that the true substance of education lies in the modes of enquiry and self initiative stimulated in the student", Development Plan 1974/78, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi. These sentiments are re-iterated and extended in, for example, sections of National Unity

Since education of young people is not merely a matter of transmitting information or developing skills but is also dependent upon the rate of development of the learner, curriculum development for political development requires a close examination of the inter-action between development of the individual and development of the notions of participation, social mobilisation and vulnerability. Prewitt proposes a developmental sequence for political development: first, basic attachments, identifications and loyalties are acquired. Later information and knowledge necessary for participation in political life are added. Finally, the individual acquires specific views about political programmes and politics and personalities. (See Prewitt & Oculi, 1971). If this sequence is followed, the curriculum implications are clearly different for primary, secondary and tertiary education. At the primary level, when the child is still egocentric, early experience should be geared towards helping the child to develop his sense of identity and, at the same time, to interact positively and responsibly with others. Regulated environments should be seen to be functional with the reasons for regulations being presented clearly and explicitly in terms of the protection of the individual or the group. This is no different from the best of infant school practice in many countries but can be seen, in this context, to be the first stage in the establishment of classroom norms which are consistent with desired patterns of growth. In particular, emphasis should be placed on self and group responsibility.

"Teaching students to accept responsibility is a serious objective for education." (Combs, 1979 : 144).

From the earliest age in school, the pupil should be expected to show care and consideration for the people and things around him. Likewise, the teachers should be showing equal care and consideration for the pupils and especially for their sensibilities. Children should be encouraged to bring information or objects from home to school and these should always be treated and used with respect and incorporated into the pattern of activity in the day. The inter-personal respect which is displayed by the child for the teacher should be used to clarify



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for the child the components of the role which are respect-deserving; for example, the resource component or the interpretative component. At the same time, the social norms of human interaction should be displayed. What teacher knows, and how effectively teacher can make that knowledge available to the pupil are aspects of the manifest curriculum which relate directly to the teaching role. But, for example, Bliss drew attention to the manner in which some pupils he observed were learning that

"a statement was validated by the power and the status of the speaker. The answer was right because the teacher said it was right"

whereas other pupils

"were being introduced to knowledge as something to be tested and if necessary modified in the light of their own experience." (1978 : 92/93).

As a consequence, the hidden curriculum is invoked by the behaviour and attitudes of the teacher when he is personally filling his role. They are a function of the individual, not of the teacher role. It is for this reason that control over the hidden curriculum is such a difficult matter. It would seem that the most effective way is through a sensitizing of the teacher to his own needs and values and a comparison of these with the child's view and experience. This is part of teacher education and will be discussed there.

With the education of older primary children, especially where this extends for seven years and may be terminal, the transfer of information necessary for political participation will be an important part of the manifest curriculum. Such information transfer can be reinforced by providing curriculum experiences in organisational procedures, exploring different ways of making decisions about classroom matters and discussing which is preferable and for what reasons. Curriculum units for young children have been designed to use the medium of drama to illustrate the need for social organisation and its implications. (See Riches, 1974). As already outlined, others have looked more closely at the needs of the older age group in developing syllabi for political studies in secondary schools. (See Brennan, 1972).

"The social structure and the political system are inextricably interwoven in a relationship which is complex and reciprocal. If part of the task of education is to help the individual to become aware

of himself and himself in relation to others, this implies that considerable value must be attached to political awareness because individuality becomes meaningful only in a social context." (Ibid : 37).

What is being identified is the need for a curriculum which makes young people aware of the processes, opportunities and constraints of their political system in an education context which is consistent with the values, attitudes and behaviours being discussed. Thus the opportunity in the school to learn about, experience and practice the skills associated with participation and social mobilisation needs to be a total opportunity through which theoretical information is tied to its practice in appropriate settings. The curriculum developer identifies the theoretical ideas which are to be conveyed, explains the structures which require understanding and lists the information to be used. Then, ideas for the implementation of the theory should be given to teachers so that the reality of why and how social organisations develop and function is felt by the pupils. Some of these exercises could be through simulation, but there should also be included real possibilities for student participation in decision-making, where they have responsibility for something important enough to require that they cope with the consequences of their own actions. Although each curriculum reflects the society of which it is a part, certain ideas are probably general. Such ideas would be, for example, the role of bureaucracy, the structure of the elective process, the function of a political representative, the media of communications, and so on. Methods of classroom involvement to explore these ideas could include the development of a pupil's council with stipulated areas of real responsibilities, the organising and undertaking of school/community liaison ventures, the interviewing of a number of local representatives in order to compare and contrast their roles, functions and attitudes, the issue of a regular school newspaper, and so on. The best ideas for curriculum development in this area, once the objectives are clarified, would most likely arise from the pupils themselves, or from the community members involved through the educational structures in the running of the school. Assessment of such activities for the purpose of a final school leaving certificate, where this was considered necessary, could form a natural part of any overall profile of the pupil since information on his cooperation, flexibility, fluency, imagination, problem-solving, involvement and commitment would

be forthcoming by observation. Factual information could be tested in an oral or written manner.

In the process of identifying, developing and executing such activities as have been suggested here, the pupils would be looking for investigative problems in their environment and, with the help of their teachers, devising mechanisms for conducting their investigations and reaching some conclusions. These exercises to a large extent depend upon an atmosphere of trust and respect between pupils, staff and community, within which the pupils practise the skills necessary to such investigations. Where investigative education of this kind has been carried out,* often with children of primary age, the results have more than justified the programme in terms of the general, social learning of the children. Results of some investigations have yielded changes in methods or techniques which acknowledge the value of the work done by the pupils. The skills which form part of such a curriculum are, for example, the skills of information collection, use, presentation and evaluation, (Brake, 1980), the skills of experimentation, the skills of cooperation and responsibility, and, in general, the skills of problem solving. Not enough is known about the generation of problem solving abilities although it is clear that they are pivotal to social functioning both at a general and particular level. However, there is an acknowledgement by many decision-makers that these abilities are the ones which would be most valuable to their citizens and much interest is evidenced in the recent research literature in attempts better to understand problem solving and ascertain its teachability. In recent years, attempts to improve problem solving performance have relied upon programmes involving small groups engaged with real problems.** A few programmes have attempted to isolate some of the skills of problem solving and look at methods for developing those skills. (Burton, 1980). There is general acknowledgement that problem solving cannot be improved in isolation from problems and that means teaching methodology which engages pupils in investigative education.

* Programmes of this kind have been developed by the Unified Science and Mathematics in the Elementary School programme, Boston, U.S.A. Scuola Media Tasso di Roma, Italy, Instituut voor Ontwikkeling van het Wiskunde Onderwijs, The Netherlands, and, to some extent, by the Science Fair competition organised by the British Broadcasting Commission, U.K. A Course for teachers called Maths Across the Curriculum, to encourage this form of learning was launched by The Open University (1980).

** Such techniques as Synectics and Brainstorming use small, involved structured groups. Also, the Creative Behaviour Programme developed by Parnes at Buffalo State University, N.Y., U.S.A.

Teacher Education

If the changes which are envisaged in the two sections above are to have any possibility of developing, the key lies with the teachers. If one assumes that the teachers are anxious to execute their responsibilities in the most effective way, then their failure to do so, where there is such failure, rests in the constraints which lie on them. To release the teachers from these constraints, wherever possible, is both a structural and an educative procedure. As already discussed, much can be accomplished by so altering the structures within which the teachers can operate that their vulnerability is reduced and their confidence increased. There is, for example, no evidence to suggest that in the years after the abolishing of the eleven plus examination in England, standards in primary schools fell. (Report by H.M.I, 1978). But the removal of the examination constraint allowed teachers greater freedom if they wanted to broaden the curriculum, introduce discovery methods and follow up areas of interest with their pupils. Where teachers have continued to teach in the same way, after the removal of the examination constraint, it is their choice in the belief that this is the most effective way of teaching. If this is not so, the teachers need to be convinced of the validity of the research advocating change through programmes of in-service education and through the media. In an atmosphere of change, a well-developed pre-service training course supports and encourages the in-service work.

For a long time, teacher education was seen as the educating of the teacher in the sense that the prospective teacher was sent to a school to learn. Conventionally, that learning was described in terms of the disciplines seen to impinge on the educational process, psychology, sociology, philosophy and history. Usually, students were offered the opportunity to take their own learning further in one or two particular disciplines and courses would also include units on teaching methodology. The opportunity to practice teaching in a classroom was also built in to a greater or less degree in most courses. It is clear that a course comprising discrete units of the kind mentioned is constructed very much along similar lines to those the student has experienced at school with theoretical learning with subject boundaries being presented to a largely passive audience. The hidden curriculum continues with its message unchanged. Success lies in memorising certain information in order to pass written examination in discrete

subjects. If there is a practical teaching element it is separate from the theoretical and requires little display of synthesis or analysis of theory and practice together. The assumption is that the theoretical learning will provide a relevant input to the knowledge and consequent behaviour of the prospective teacher which will be evidenced in his teaching. For many students this assumption seems to have little basis in reality.

In the context of this study, what attitudes, values and behaviours will be displayed by an effective teacher? Amongst the most important are:

1. The teacher will recognise that he serves as a model to the child and that all his behaviour is being monitored. He therefore needs an ability to be self-analytical in order to question the validity and consistency of his behaviour with his demands on his pupils.
2. The teacher will acknowledge that children develop through different cognitive, affective and psycho-motor stages at different rates. He therefore needs to be able to recognise these stages in individual children in order to adjust the demands of learning appropriately.
3. The teacher will know from his own learning experience that, without motivation, learning is extremely difficult and retention problematic. Since motivation is personal, he will look for suitable mechanisms for involving pupils in their own learning.
4. The teacher will establish an atmosphere of inter-personal respect which will enable each participant in the learning programme to be acknowledged for his contribution and the group to function supportively and effectively.
5. The teacher will attach a high value to innovation and creativity when it is appropriate while, equally, safeguarding those aspects of traditional practice which continue to be appropriate. Thus human development will be displayed for the pupils as a process of continual change and consolidation.
6. The teacher will be aware of long-term educational aims as well as shorter-term learning objectives. The long-term aims will include the experiences which have been listed in this study under the headings participation and social mobilisation and to which reference

was made in the section on the curriculum. Opportunities will consequently be provided as frequently as possible for pupils to accept and exert responsibility, cooperate, develop information skills, explore the human and natural environment, develop investigatory techniques, and so on.

7. The teacher will establish close, reciprocal relationships with his colleagues, the parents of the pupils, and the members of the community so that there is a framework for communication and support providing additional resources.

These seven points have implications for the pre-service teacher teaching programme. They will be examined in turn.

1. To develop an ability to be critically self-analytical, the prospective teacher needs analytical and self-critical experiences. In the teaching group, sessions may be held regularly in which teaching behaviours are viewed on film, videotape, or within the group in question, and analysed in terms of the hidden curriculum learning. Accepted teaching practices, such as question/answer techniques, or the use of reinforcement exercises, should be queried for their objectives, use and hidden learning in order that they may be used thoughtfully. Group sessions of students can be asked to compare and analyse their experiences of teachers they liked/disliked, subjects they learnt/failed to learn, memories of pleasure/pain in school in order to build up a profile of functional behaviours and to sensitize them to the likely experiences of the pupils they will teach. The effects of arrangements of the classroom, for example furniture, can be investigated by observing different classrooms or, as an exercise, re-arranging a classroom physically and analysing the consequences. The student teacher should frequently be asked to query himself as to his motives, objectives and values as he experiences his course. (See, for example, Simon et al, 1978 : 13/27).

2. Not only does the prospective teacher need theoretical understanding of children's development but he needs the practical skills of applying that understanding to children in the classroom. The use of objective testing, the many forms of diagnosis available to teachers, knowledge of their purpose, application, shortcomings, and the meaning of results, should be an important part of any curriculum training teachers. This knowledge needs to be applied in practice so that the

prospective teacher has experienced the difficulties and constraints in administering such tests and is sensitised to search for the kind of information tests do not provide. The presentation of such objective tests as part of a pre-service course should always be associated with the appropriate level and content of subject matter so that the prospective teacher learns to adjust the content to the development of the child.

3. An exploration of motivation can be an extension of self-analysis as well as form part of a child study. The student should also be encouraged to read accounts by teachers of their classroom experiences. (See Bream, 1970; Holt, 1964; Kohl, 1976; Stubbs & Delamont, 1976). Particular tasks should be undertaken with small groups of children to observe their motivational effects.

4. Self-respect, inter-personal respect, self-discipline and group organisation are all components of the classroom atmosphere. Prospective teachers will achieve professional self-respect through feeling competent and confident to fulfil their role. To this end, their training must provide enough of a basis to enable them to function effectively in terms of the content they will be teaching while, at the same time, establishing an attitude of expected life-long learning through their professional contacts as well as through their pupils. Teachers who acknowledge that they gain from contact with their pupils will respect and encourage them. Student teachers should be asked to identify their own learning needs and to translate these to the classroom. They should become familiar with techniques for generating trust and self-discipline in pupils. They will be helped in this by the kinds of structural changes suggested above.

5. Student teachers will require experience themselves of experimentation and they will also have to acquire the kinds of problem-solving skills which it is hoped that they will develop in their pupils. Much of their course time should, consequently, be spent in workshop activities in which they acquire information in an investigation mode themselves and then critically examine their own experiences. The teaching of art and craft, and environmental studies both provide excellent media for the juxtaposition of innovation and tradition. But this aspect needs to be drawn out rather than left inexplicitly part of the hidden curriculum.

6. Learning to stipulate education objectives and to assess when and under what conditions they have been met is an important component of an education programme. Not all learning can be put in objectives terms but a lot more learning would be facilitated if it were so done. Once the nature and function of the hidden curriculum has been discussed with the student teachers, objectives should be formulated and then educational practice analysed for its consistency with them. Most important is for a teacher to develop what Brameld called a 'unifying theory' which is a

"philosophy of education that can provide integration and direction." (1965 : 201).

7. The relationships between the teacher and colleagues, parents, and the community will be facilitated by the structural changes suggested but student teachers should be encouraged to see their role as cooperative rather than individual and to view themselves and consequently everyone else in the environment as a resource for the learning of their pupils. Exercises in team teaching, group work, subject leading, projects and so on should all give experience in the many forms which are available for teachers to cooperate and collaborate with others.

Throughout this discussion, emphasis has been laid on group discussion and analysis as a method of training student teachers. This is partly in order to establish consistency between their patterns of learning and the patterns which they will initiate in the classroom. It is also to make clear that productive learning is most often not individual but arises from the interaction of the individual with others and that much more will be gained from teacher education courses that start from where the students are and develop their material through the students, than by imposing patterns of learning on the students which reflect constricted syllabi and a fragmented view of education.

Adult education

If changed attitudes and behaviours are to be introduced into schools, the validity of those changes needs to be accepted and supported by the community at large. For too many adults, the criteria of excellence in schooling is the degree of correspondence with their own experience. If they had no, or little, formal schooling, with

which to compare, they may have recourse to the current stereotype or, alternatively, reject the school's influence. In either case, the adult community is out of sympathy with the school. In these circumstances, adult education through as many different channels as possible is a vital component of educational change and hence political development.

With the implementation of structural changes such as have been suggested above, adults will be drawn in to the orbit of the school and become involved with the problems and decisions. With a close working relationship developing between the community and the school, parents and community members in general will begin to appreciate what the school is attempting and, themselves, will affect the aims and objectives through their discussions with staff. This is one aspect of adult education which should not be neglected.

The educative side of adult education should continue alongside conventional schooling, using the facilities and resources of the school wherever possible. Some countries, like Tanzania, are using their able older pupils to act as tutors in literacy or other adult education programmes. From the point of view of political development, education campaigns and programmes can be constructed with the aims of participation, social mobilisation and reduced vulnerability constantly in mind. This is particularly important where the adults are already lacking confidence in their learning ability because of their previous formal learning experience. Many literacy campaigns, from those developed by Freire in Brazil, to that developed in Britain in recent years, have recognised the need to have materials which engage the interest and ideas of the learners. This is the application to adults of the same ideas of relevance and involvement in learning applied to the children above. The need for continuation materials which encourage the new literate to maintain and apply his skill is an extension of the idea of applicability of learning.

"Literacy must ... become part of a wider response to adult basic needs." *

* Literacy triumphs set against need to widen service, report in The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 29.9.78, of Adult Literacy 1977/78: A Remarkable Educational Advance, H.M.S.O. and Adult Literacy: A Study of its impact, by Jones, H.A., and Charnley, A.H., National Institute of Adult Education, 1978.

Adult education, or continuing education as it is sometimes called, should not be regarded as a stop-gap measure, or a means to redress earlier disadvantages. Continuing education is a right and interest for adults as well as children and opportunities should reflect the needs and demands of the local community. If the local community recognises a need for literacy classes, these should be available. Equally a demand for technical or craft classes should be met. At the same time, the existence of an adult education framework provides the opportunity for central decisions about programmes which are seen to be beneficial to the general public or meeting a nation-wide expression of need. It is clear that Tanzania has gone a long way in its adult education programme to implement its philosophy.

"Adult education has at the very least been able to nationalize access to written information and thereby to reduce one of the most fundamental inequalities in the country. It is still too early to quantify the extent to which, through heightened appreciation of the need for social change and receptivity to new ideas and techniques, this has turned into regional development. However, by mobilising vast numbers of citizens in a system of national learning adult education has almost certainly expanded self-awareness, self-confidence and practical understanding. This has laid the foundation for the kind of meaningful and dispersed participation in village government which is envisaged in the five committee structure through which most villages operate and for the increased productivity on which their improved well-being depends." (Court & Kinyanjui, 1978 : 60).

These four mechanisms, structures, the curriculum, teacher education and adult education, are suggested as the most effective way in which the political development aims of a society can be implemented through the educational system. This study has demonstrated that political development, as defined here, is impeded by many current practices in the educational system. Far from the socialising propensity of the school being exploited to support and develop the attitudes and practices seen to be valuable to society, this study has shown that the behaviours, values and attitudes displayed through the hidden curriculum most frequently run counter to those declared desirable. It is the conclusion of this study that continual exhortation to schools, pupils and society in general to 'make education meaningful' is itself meaningless in the absence of an attempt to introduce consistency between declared intentions and actual experiences. General proposals have

been made for the kind of changes, sometime comparatively simple and straightforward, sometimes much more complex, which would move the educational experience into a pattern of behaviour which reflects social and political aspirations. High participation, high social mobilisation and low vulnerability are not simply dimensions of a theoretical model which has been generated here from academic literature. They are equally to be found in the real demands made by people in all societies and reflected in the policy speeches and documents of decision-makers and their agencies throughout the world.

This study began with three substantive hypotheses: education is a vehicle for transmitting aspects of political development; the education service as currently conceived and implemented largely ignores this function; as a result of this failure to plan positively for the impact of education on political development, the impact is frequently counter to that advocated and/or desired by decision-makers. Once political development had been modelled and the dimensions were both generalisable and culture-free, education was analysed on the same dimensions. Discrepancies were then revealed, for the individual, and consequently for society, between the provision and experience of education and political development. The explanation for these discrepancies was sought in the effects of the hidden curriculum. The impact of education on political development was then shown to be as dependent upon the hidden as the formal curriculum. The hidden curriculum, in practice, is poorly defined and its inputs and effects not well recognised. Hence, the final part of the Conclusion made some suggestions for ways in which the hidden curriculum could be analysed and exposed so that its impact could become a positive contribution to political development.

This study has ranged widely, both in time, and space. The impact of education on political development is of interest, whatever the political value system. Further, the human needs and values which define political development and provide the theoretical base for the recommendations contained in this study are universal and will be pursued by individuals and communities whatever the political structure or value system of the societies in which they live. Values and striving to achieve satisfaction of needs, that is, the desire for political development, seems to be a common feature across societies despite differences in their economic levels. The individual's political development can be supported and encouraged through the educational

system. The model provides a framework and a conceptual language through which political development needs can be matched to socio/political structures and processes. Here, then, is a tool which enables a correspondence to be made between the needs, behaviours, experience, values of individuals, and those of roles and organisations; and, therefore, between political development and education. A means by which change and individual/societal interaction can be assessed continuously is available.

"It would seem therefore that agencies of change in order to be effective must be involved in a continuous two-way process, at all levels, and so must all their personnel ... This two-way process must moreover operate at the value level as well as at the pragmatic. Thus, agents of change have first to respect the values and beliefs of those whom they are sent to change and to accept them as valid for those persons in their present position. In order to do this they not only have to know what the values are but must try to understand what they mean to those who hold them."
(Jellicoe, 1978 : 361).

If we accept the hypothesis that the pursuit of certain values and needs is part of what it means to be a human being, and that development achieves meaning only when related to this, and, further, if we accept that education has the possibility of promoting this development, then establishing the links between the two is not dependent upon cultural or value orientations but is a necessary contribution to personal and societal growth.

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